

THE BIG FIGHT IN CALIFORNIA

AFL-CIO



American

FEDERATIONIST

LABOR'S MAGAZINE

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TWENTY CENTS

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They Loved Labor's Show

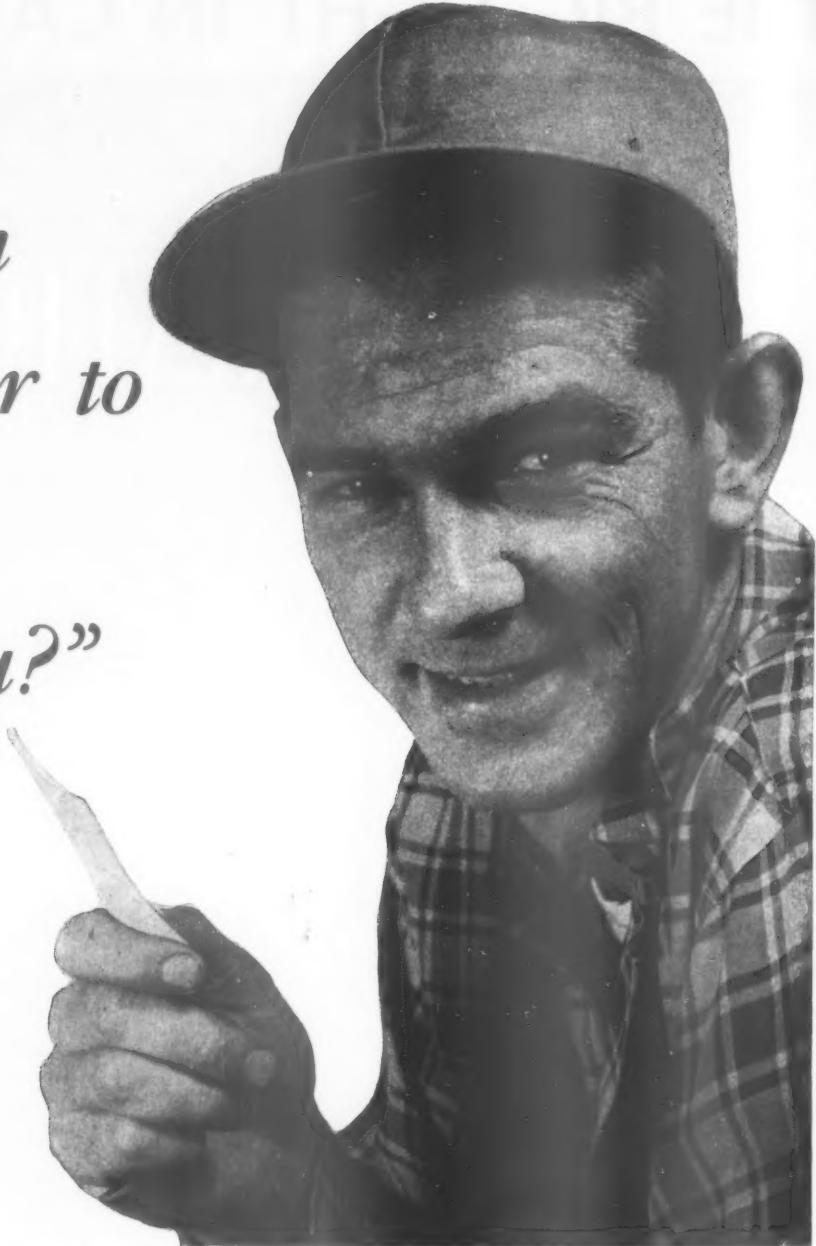
by Joseph Lewis

Organized Labor in Israel

by Pinhas Lavon



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FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

JUNE, 1958

GEORGE MEANY, Editor

Vol. 65, No. 6

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Give to COPE

We must be sure that our members and citizens in general understand that the reactionary forces are out to destroy the American labor movement because they realize that the labor movement and its members—more than any other force—are the real champions of democracy and future progress.

We need to bring the facts not only to our membership but also to the citizens in various communities.

To do an effective job in the field of political education takes money. The labor movement does not have any oil millionaires to go to for contributions of \$5000 to \$25,000. The Committee on Political Education has to depend upon the \$1 voluntarily contributed by the individual union member.

We must recognize that large numbers of people have been laid off, and all signs indicate that unemployment will become even worse than it is now. Therefore, it is doubly important that those of us who still have jobs make our voluntary contributions.

When we make this \$1 contribution to COPE, we ought to make it in the spirit that this is a protection policy, the same as insurance—a protection policy against the reactionaries' success in turning the clock back eighty years.

So when our steward or committeeman asks us for a dollar, everyone ought to contribute that dollar, and more if we can, knowing that we have made a contribution toward building a better world not only for us to live in but for our children who will follow.

Harvey Kitzman.

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EDITORIAL



GEORGE MEANY

THE EIGHTY-THIRD VETO

by George Meany

THE SOVIET VETO of the United States plan for an inspection zone in the critical Arctic regions has exposed —more fully and clearly than any exchange of diplomatic letters ever could—the fraudulent nature and the real aims of the high-powered “peace offensive” waged by the Kremlin, especially in the last two years.

Today many more people throughout the world can see that this Communist “peace offensive” is really an offensive against peace, a carefully planned and vital phase of the Kremlin’s drive to deceive, divide, disarm and destroy international resistance to its drive for world conquest.

Some political observers were surprised when on April 18 the Kremlin showered abuse against the United States by charging that it rushed its “military aircraft armed with atomic and hydrogen bombs in the direction of the Soviet Union.” Our country was denounced for speeding nuclear bombers in the direction of the Arctic every time American defense authorities picked up some suspicious radar blip. These observers were surprised that the Russian rulers should resort to such fierce denunciation of America at the very moment when they were pushing so hard for the early holding of a summit conference.

There was no basis for such surprise. This Soviet denunciation was only part of Moscow’s campaign to instill fear, especially among the people of free Europe,

that the United States was blocking disarmament and peace. This move aimed to frighten especially the Scandinavian countries and Britain into believing that the U.S.S.R. was doing everything to avoid a clash while the United States was “trigger-happy,” looking for a fight and had to be restrained by its own allies.

Foreign Minister Gromyko’s outburst was more of an act for stirring up the professional pacifists and “masses in the streets” than a move dictated by genuine fear for the security of the Soviet empire and sincere concern for the peace of the world.

Act II followed with Russia charging in the United Nations that the American bomber flights were “a threat to peace.” Here again Moscow was, so to say, playing for the galleries of world public opinion. It was keeping up its drumfire propaganda of hate and suspicion against the United States as the strongest free world obstacle and most effective power resisting the Communist drive for world domination.

The star Soviet performer, Delegate Sobolev, was not really addressing the members of the U.N. Security Council but talking over their heads. His case was so poor that on April 21 Russia was forced to withdraw its obviously untenable charge.

Fortunately, our government and its allies did not let matters end here. The United States took vigorous initiative by proposing in the Security Council that in-

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ternational inspection machinery be set up to guard against any surprise aerial or missile attack from the regions above the Arctic Circle. This was not a maneuver of the kind the Kremlin diplomats make. Foreign Minister Gromyko and Delegate Sobolev were informed in advance and urged, through appropriate diplomatic channels, to accept the American proposal. President Eisenhower even went so far toward summit diplomacy as to appeal personally to Khrushchev to accept the American inspection proposal and thereby make a valuable contribution "to an increase of confidence among states."

No more straightforward and genuine move could be made to end Soviet fears, if there really were any, of a United States surprise attack or offensive initiative in this strategic zone. In token of its earnest desire for peace and in a determined effort to avoid a Soviet veto, our government accepted a Swedish amendment proposing that the nations directly involved in the Arctic area first confer regarding an inspection system and then present their plan to a summit conference. U.N. Secretary General Hammarskjold himself was so impressed with the sincerity of America's move and its practicability that he intervened—as he very rarely does—to express his approval in the spirit of his "obligations to the peoples whose voice is reflected in the Charter."

IT WAS ALL of no avail. Apparently the Kremlin was not afraid of any act of American aggression. It was afraid, rather, of the world's learning something of Moscow's own preparations for aggression and machinery for offensive nuclear warfare now being set up in the vital Arctic regions.

In this situation Delegate Sobolev cast the eighty-third Soviet veto against the American proposal for establishing immediately a Northern zone of inspection against surprise attack. Not even the proposal to have mutually trusted neutrals take over patrol duty and the system of radar inspection had the slightest effect on "Comrade" Sobolev, who was carrying out the Khrushchev line.

The history of the exercise of veto power in the United Nations is very instructive. Altogether eighty-seven vetoes have been cast. Of these the Soviet delegation has cast eighty-three—once together with France and eighty-two times alone. The American delegation has yet to exercise its right of veto.

We must note that, in casting its eighty-third veto, the Soviet government has actually been very consistent. It has consistently and unwaveringly opposed the application—in any shape, manner, form or degree—of two principles indispensable to the preservation of peace and harmony among the peoples of the world, particularly in the atomic age.

These principles are (1) internationally supervised free elections to eliminate world tension emanating from all areas of dispute (Germany, Korea, etc.) and (2) the promotion of world disarmament through an effective system of international inspection and control to assure

the reduction and elimination of nuclear and all other (conventional) weapons of mass destruction. The loyal application of such fair and democratic principles is incompatible with the maintenance of Communist dictatorship and the continuity of Soviet preparations for world military conquest.

For these reasons Moscow in 1946 opposed the United Nations plan for international control of nuclear energy—at a time when our country had a virtual monopoly in the atomic field. For the same reasons the Kremlin has vigorously fought against every effort to assure the banning of H-bomb tests through international inspection and enforcement machinery. That is why the Soviet rulers have broken their Yalta pledge for free elections in the satellite countries and their 1955 Geneva summit conference agreement to consider German national unification through free elections.

WE ARE CONFIDENT that many sincere lovers of peace who had hitherto given the Kremlin rulers the benefit of every doubt in regard to the genuineness of their "peace offensive" will now see clearly through the entire Soviet strategy. This is all to the good. But mankind needs much more than free world propaganda successes and effective exposures of Soviet hypocrisy.

Humanity wants and needs peace and freedom. And peace and freedom can be fostered by further free world initiative and positive cooperation in support of the aforementioned two vital democratic principles, which are anathema to the Soviet dictatorship.

In this light, our government and its democratic allies—especially after the recent encouraging NATO conference at Copenhagen—would be well advised to consider favorably the proposal, made on May 1 by the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, for "furtherance of genuine worldwide nuclear disarmament by arranging with as many powers as possible, through the U.N. Disarmament Commission, to reaffirm and carry out the unanimously adopted Resolution 1 (I) of the First U.N. General Assembly, which provides for international inspection to assure 'the control of atomic energy * * *, to insure its use only for peaceful purposes * * *, the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and all other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction * * * and 'effective safeguards by way of inspection and other means to protect complying states against the hazards of violations and evasions.'"

Of course, Moscow would not go along with such an effective and fair program for peace. But the free world can and must take this path in the interest of promoting peace and freedom.

It will take time to attain this great goal. Realizing this, the AFL-CIO Executive Council has urged that "until this is achieved * * * our government should reinforce both the conventional and nuclear elements in the basic NATO defense system and continue its policy of acquiring missile bases abroad, and strengthen the Strategic Air Command in order to maintain a strong deterrent against aggression and to preserve peace."

AFL-CIO Speaks on the Issues

General Board and Council Meet

SESSIONS of the AFL-CIO General Board and Executive Council in Washington were dominated by the threat posed by the recession and the outlook for labor legislation. The General Board emphasized that the AFL-CIO will vigorously oppose legislation that would destroy or weaken "honest, decent American trade unions" but will give its full support to "properly drafted, properly considered, necessary and adequate legislation in the area of labor-management improper practices."

The General Board warned that "a recession that begins to feed on itself may gain momentum and become a full-blown depression." The Board, in a statement, noted that business investment was continuing to head downward and it warned that "a continuation of the decline in wage and salary income—and in consumer spending—clearly spells the danger that business activity may be dragged further down by a vicious circle of layoffs, short workweeks and pessimism."

The Board called on the Administration and Congress to carry out the "clear intent" of the Employment Act of 1946, which states the "continuing policy" of the federal government is to "seek all practicable means to promote maximum employment, production and purchasing power."

The General Board urged an immediate tax cut in federal income levies for families with taxable incomes of \$5000 a year or less and the elimination of excise taxes on automobiles, electrical appliances and transportation.

The Board also called for the inclusion of adequate federal standards in the emergency unemployment compensation bill.

The Executive Council called on the Administration to take positive

action to further global nuclear disarmament by working through the United Nations Disarmament Commission for an international inspection system.

Until this objective is achieved, the Council declared, the United States "should reinforce both the conventional and nuclear elements in the basic NATO defense system, continue its policy of acquiring missile bases abroad and strengthen the Strategic Air Command in order to maintain a strong deterrent against aggression and to preserve peace."

The major responsibility for acute world tensions, said the Council, "rests on the continued drive of Soviet communism for world domination and its opposition to all proposals designed effectively to prohibit the use of nuclear weapons."

THE Council noted that the Soviet Union has returned to a "one-man dictatorship" and a tightening of the Soviet grip over its satellites. It added that "no considerations of truth, consistency or honor govern the behavior of the Soviet government representatives in their so-called peace offensive and in any negotiations which may take place."

Prompt enactment of a \$1.5 billion federal aid to school construction bill was urged by the Executive Council. It was pointed out that, in addition to easing the serious overcrowding in the nation's classrooms, the bill would provide "badly needed" public works activity "to combat the current dangerous recession."

The Council said the slump had not yet occurred when school construction legislation was considered by Congress in 1957. This fact alone, the Council observed, should give Congress "added impetus" to take action.

"For the past several years," the

Council's statement said, "the AFL-CIO has repeatedly urged Congress to act promptly to meet the crucial needs of the nation's schools by adopting legislation providing federal aid to school construction.

"The classroom shortage which has been growing in recent years presents a critical problem for America. Millions of children now attend school in classrooms which are woefully overcrowded, resulting in inadequate instruction and split shifts. Some school buildings in use today are unfit for human occupancy because of physical deterioration, threat of fire or lack of sanitary facilities.

"The local school boards, which have made valiant efforts to keep up with the need for new schools, have so depleted their financial resources that they are presently unable to satisfy current and future school construction requirements.

"This problem can and should be remedied by Congress."

The General Board, in its statement on labor legislation, said:

"The AFL-CIO by its constitution and by convention action is pledged to the elimination of corrupt and racketeering influences which have penetrated into some segments of the labor movement. To this end the AFL-CIO has adopted ethical practice codes dealing with the broad aspects of this problem and has taken and is taking effective measures to implement such codes.

"In its fight against corruption the AFL-CIO has made substantial progress. It intends to continue this fight vigorously, to the end that every vestige of corruption shall be removed.

"The AFL-CIO, in addition to its own actions in this area, will cooperate with Congress in the enactment of constructive, maturely considered legislation directed to meeting specific disclosed abuses which cannot

adequately be dealt with without governmental help.

"As an example of the legislation we support, we again urge, as we have for over four years, immediate Senate passage of the Douglas-Kennedy-Ives bill, S. 2888, for full disclosure of the finances of health, welfare and pension benefit plans.

"We do not believe that the purpose of this bill should be frustrated through the tacking on of irrelevant proposals not yet processed by the appropriate Senate committees.

"Our support of such legislation is not limited to the Douglas-Kennedy-Ives bill. We reiterate our support of properly drafted, properly considered, necessary and adequate legislation in the area of labor-management improper practices.

"While supporting appropriate corrective legislation, we will continue to resist proposals which, under the guise of dealing with improper activities, seek instead to undermine effective collective bargaining by destroying or weakening honest, decent American trade unions."

The Executive Council, taking up the subject of civil rights, urged Attorney General William P. Rogers to launch a full-scale FBI investigation into "the bombings and lawlessness which are threatening civil liberties and the security of many people in the South."

The Council, in a statement, warned that discrimination rises as employment opportunities diminish.

"Bred by insecurity and fear, the spirit of intolerance is stalking normally peaceful and neighborly communities," the Council declared.

The Administration and Congress were criticized sharply for inaction in furthering and enforcing civil rights

guaranteed to every American by the Constitution.

"The Department of Justice has not yet processed a single case involving deprivation of the right to vote," the Council said, "even though many such cases have been called to its attention. Meanwhile, the 1958 registration and primary voting period is under way and millions of American citizens continue to be deprived of their precious right of franchise because of the color of their skin.

"If the Civil Rights Act of 1957 is to fulfill any of the hopes which friends of civil rights entertained at the time of its enactment, both the Administration and Congress must permit no further delay in carrying out their respective obligations under the law placed on the statute books as long ago as September 9, 1957.

"Even if fully implemented, however, the 1957 law is not enough to make secure the civil rights of our citizens. Further legislation in the field of civil rights and its proper enforcement are urgent. But in the

final analysis, progress in this sensitive area of human relations depends most on the determined effort of the American people themselves.

"Organized labor is leading the way, through the AFL-CIO civil rights program, in winning the acceptance of equal rights for all among workers, employers and the community at large. Union-negotiated non-discrimination clauses in collective bargaining agreements have proved themselves a bulwark against discrimination in employment.

"We call on union men and women, in their own conduct and in the conduct of their unions, to set the right example and to point the way for all Americans to the fulfillment of freedom and justice in the best tradition of American democracy."

Merger of AFL and CIO groups in all but a few states is expected within the next ninety days, the Council was told. In a number of states committees from AFL and CIO state bodies are meeting and working out the framework for merger. In a few states the progress is slow.

In Michigan merger came after revocation of the charters of the former AFL and CIO bodies and the setting up of a special merger convention by the AFL-CIO. It is not expected that similar action will be needed to bring about merger in the remaining unmerged states.

The Council received a report from AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler that 504 new AFL-CIO charters had been granted to local labor groups. These included ninety-two charters where two central bodies merged, 214 involving one central body and local unions, 148 replacement charters and fifty to new groups.

Throughout all of our industrial history, the unions have gone ahead—pioneering, breaking down one evil after another, destroying one curse after another, removing one after another the menaces of industry to life and limb, raising continually the intellectual lives of the toilers, improving their social status, bringing to them greater opportunities for education and for the education of their children, bringing to them better homes and a better environment generally, fitting them to find a keener enjoyment in life and to have time for that enjoyment, and making them more fit and capable to be citizens of our republic.

—Samuel Gompers.

Big Fight in California

By DANIEL V. FLANAGAN
AFL-CIO Regional Director of Organization

FOURTEEN years ago California was picked as a prime target by the advocates of "right to work." At that time they were able to place an "open shop" proposal on the state ballot. This 1944 effort to weaken unionism in California was defeated by close to 600,000 votes.

In 1946 a fresh attempt was made to place "right to work" before the electorate. Two initiative petitions were circulated, but they failed to obtain sufficient signatures. The initiative approach was then shelved by labor's enemies for nearly twelve years.

But they were still determined to bring the progress of California labor to a grinding halt.

In the 1947 session of the Legislature and continuing through the 1953 session, out-and-out "right to work" or "open shop" bills were regularly introduced. Just as regularly the bills were killed or permitted to expire in committee.

In 1955 an attempt was made on the floor of the Assembly to alter a fair employment practices bill into a compulsory open shop measure. This was rejected by a vote of 45 to 15.

In last year's session no "right to work" bills were introduced. One bill, however, whose ultimate purpose was to undermine unions and render them ineffective, while appearing to allow their right to exist, was strongly supported by the "wreck" advocates. They managed to get this bill out of committee, but it was killed on the Senate floor.

Defeated at the state level, labor's enemies began to attack at the city and county levels. The opening shot was fired at Palm Springs, a resort for the well-to-do.

When the organizing campaign of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes commenced to show real progress, in the late summer of 1956, the Palm Springs Employers Association launched a counter-offensive. The



DANIEL V. FLANAGAN

city council was asked to enact a "right to work" ordinance.

On November 14, 1956, the city council adopted the ordinance, despite the opinion of the League of California Cities that such an ordinance would be an unconstitutional invasion of the state's legislative domain. Labor appealed to the Superior Court, and in January, 1957, it held that local communities have no right to enact "wreck" legislation.

The Palm Springs council promptly filed an appeal. In January of this year the Fourth District Court of Appeals upheld the Superior Court's decision. The council then petitioned the California Supreme Court for a hearing. That court has agreed to review the case, but up to now the tribunal has not acted.

In Tehama County, in April of last year, the board of supervisors, by a 3 to 2 vote, adopted a "right to work" ordinance. Labor appealed, and the Superior Court ruled that the county ordinance could not be applied within the boundaries of any city within that county. This ruling, practically speaking, canceled out the effective-

ness of the ordinance. No attempt has been made by the board of supervisors to appeal the court's decision.

In May of last year the San Benito County board of supervisors, by 4 to 1, adopted an ordinance like that of Tehama County. In this case the Superior Court held that a local statute that conflicts with an act of Congress is void. The court pointed out that the union shop is permitted by federal legislation except where a state or territory prohibits it. The expression "state or territorial law" does not include the political subdivisions thereof, the court noted. Therefore, the permission granted to the state to enact such a law has not been extended to its political subdivisions.

The court went on to say that California has legislated on the subject of union security and has held that the union shop and the closed shop are lawful. A county may not pass an ordinance which conflicts with the general laws of the state or of the United States, the court added, nor may it forbid what the state law allows or legislate when the state law occupies that field.

No appeal of this ruling has been taken by our opposition.

THROUGH the spring of 1957, the Citizens Committee for Voluntary Unionism and the California Association of Employers, which is very active in the rural areas, kept pressuring the boards of supervisors of Yuba County and Lake County to enact "right to work" ordinances.

As a result of an educational campaign by the labor movement, Yuba County, in July, voted to postpone action on the ordinance. A week later the Lake County supervisors voted to take the matter under advisement. To date, no further action has been taken by either county.

In August of last year the Trinity County Board of Supervisors, by a

vote of 4 to 1, approved an ordinance banning the union shop. This ordinance, nearly identical to the one ruled unconstitutional in San Benito County and as without effect in incorporated areas of Tehama County, went into effect last September 18.

On an appeal by the trade union movement, the Superior Court upheld the validity of this legislation. This was the first favorable ruling won in the courts by the "right to work" forces. The court's decision is being appealed by labor at the present time.

On the basis of this general lack of success by labor's opponents in their efforts to destroy unions at the city and county levels, they decided to try again at the state level after an interval of almost twelve years. This decision was prompted, to a large extent, by the issue of corruption in our movement, which had been put in the spotlight by the McClellan Committee.

Our enemies felt that they would be successful at last in their efforts to pass "right to work" legislation at the state level. In addition to the issue of corruption, labor's foes felt that they would be helped by the weakened position of a number of unions because of unemployment caused by the recession.

THE kickoff in the current effort to eliminate effective unions from the California scene took place last September. Senator William Knowland, in an address to a businessmen's session in Sacramento honoring the State Chamber of Commerce and the 1957 State Fair, called for a "compulsory open shop system."

Leaders of the Republican party in California, including Vice-President Richard M. Nixon, Senator Thomas Kuchel, Governor Goodwin Knight and Lieutenant-Governor Harold Powers, have all come out publicly as opposed to the "right to wreck unions" type of legislation. In addition, the top leaders of the Democratic party in California have all recorded themselves in complete opposition to such enactments.

In the second week of January the self-styled Citizens Committee for Democracy in Labor Unions submitted a "right to work" initiative petition to the State Attorney General's office in Sacramento for titling. On January 23 the title had been officially decided upon as "Employer-Employe

Relations Initiative — Constitutional Amendment.

The following passages reveal the clear intent of this anti-labor proposal:

"Any agreement or combination between any employer and any labor organization whereby persons not members of such labor organization shall be denied the right to work for the employer, or whereby such membership is made a condition of employment or continuation of employment by such employer, is hereby declared to be against public policy.

"No person shall be required by an employer to become or remain a member of any labor organization as a condition of employment or continuation of employment by such employer.

"No employer shall require any person, as a condition of employment or continuation of employment, to pay any dues, fees or other charges of any kind to any labor organization.

"The provisions of this section shall not apply to any lawful contract in force on the effective date hereof, but they shall apply in all respects to contracts entered into thereafter and to any renewal or extension of any existing contract."

California's labor movement had been alerted to this legislative danger by the earlier moves of the enemies of effective unionism at the city and county levels.

Accordingly, it was not too difficult to get our unions into action when the formal statewide challenge was flung at us by the submission of the initiative petition designed to make "right to wreck" an amendment to the California constitution.

Legal requirements for the placing of an initiative petition on the state ballot should be explained. Initiative sponsors are obliged to file 322,429 signatures with the Secretary of State by June 26 in order to qualify an initiative proposal. Proponents are first granted a ninety-day period for signature gathering, dating from the time the petition title is issued by the Attorney General. If they fail to obtain the needed 322,429 signatures in ninety days, they may seek the required balance in a supplementary period of forty days. In no event can the total of 130 days carry beyond the June 26 deadline.

In this case the "right to wreck unions" proposal was given the offi-

cial title of "Employer-Employe Relations Initiative" by the Attorney General's office on January 23. The first official filing of petition signatures with county registrars took place around April 23.

At this writing the official statewide count on the number of valid signatures is not known. However, on the basis of available information it appears that labor's enemies have qualified about 200,000. This means that they have to gather about 125,000 additional signatures by June 26. That will be the final day when the total of 322,429 valid petition signatures must be in the hands of the Secretary of State in order to qualify this measure for the general election on November 4.

Labor's opponents are now marshaling their forces for the stretch drive. While the normal price paid to solicitors is twenty cents a name,



Senator Knowland is carrying the ball for the enemies of unionism.

the "right to work" leaders are paying twenty-five and thirty cents—and it is expected that they will go much higher in an all-out effort to reach their goal.

It is interesting to note the names of some of the leaders of the current drive to shackle unions in California. The DeMille Foundation, which has been assisting "right to work" campaigns all over the nation for years, is highly active. Headed by Cecil DeMille, a movie producer, the board includes Frank Doherty, a former chairman of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce; Frank Freeman, head of the Motion Picture Employ-



Aroused wage-earners are turning out at rallies against 'right to work' menace up and down the state.

ers; Victor Rossetti, president of the Farmers and Merchants National Bank, and Fred Gurley, chairman of the board of the Santa Fe Railroad. The headquarters of this group is in Southern California.

Another prominent businessman who is assisting the anti-union drive is H. C. McClellan. He is a former president of the National Association of Manufacturers and at present is a member of the boards of directors of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce and of the Merchants and Manufacturers Association of Los Angeles. To no one's surprise, the notoriously anti-labor Los Angeles *Times* is going all-out in attempting to swing public opinion behind this sinister measure.

In Northern California we find men like Roger Lapham, Sr., former San Francisco mayor and a leader in the San Francisco waterfront employers' group that fought to the last ditch the efforts of waterfront workers in the Thirties to establish free trade unions; Gregory Harrison, prominent San Francisco attorney, who was also active with the waterfront employers in the Thirties; Russell Johnson, president of the Union Lumber Company, and Lewis Rozzoni, president of the California Farm Bureau Federation.

The major newspaper in Northern California carrying the ball for the

enemies of labor is the Oakland *Tribune*, owned by the father of Senator Knowland.

It has been mentioned that Senator Knowland officially kicked off the "wreck" campaign with a speech last September. Later he announced his candidacy for governor of California, and his chief campaign plank is a promise that, if elected, he will do all that he can to make California an "open shop" state.

If labor is able to prevent the "right to wreck unions" proposal from getting on the ballot in November or to defeat it if it should qualify, we can continue on the high road toward helping California to maintain

its place as a prosperous, progressive state. On the other hand, if labor loses on this issue, then it looks very much as if we will be forced onto the low road, in which event our union membership will suffer a serious setback in the social and economic field and all of California will feel the unfavorable impact of this un-American measure.

The AFL-CIO movement in the state is fully aware of its responsibility in meeting this most serious challenge. California unions are going all-out in their efforts to continue as a force for good on the high road and to defeat this legislative attempt to sidetrack labor to the low road.

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JUNE

This Unnecessary Recession

By WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER

*Condensed from testimony before
the House Banking Committee.*

IF THE job outlook continues to be bleak—and it is now worse than at any time since the end of World War II—this fact is simply a reflection of the continuing weakness in all segments of the American economy.

Since the recession started last summer, production and purchasing power as well as employment have been dropping month by month. Total industrial production has fallen almost 12 per cent.

The output of steel continues to hover about 50 per cent of the capacity of that industry to produce. Automobile output in the first four months of 1958 was almost 300,000 under the level of a year ago. The annual rate of new housing starts continues at less than a million units, despite the recent stimulus of accelerated federal aid, and the value of new construction contracts of all kinds is now about 12 per cent below the level of a year ago.

Inevitably, personal incomes are also beginning to fall. Between last August and March of this year, total wage and salary income dropped by a yearly rate of \$8.7 billion. Less than one-fourth of this decline has been offset by unemployment insurance benefits. It has been estimated that the well-being of two out of every five families has already been touched in one way or another by the impact of this recession.

With about 30 per cent of our industrial capacity idle and investment in new plants and equipment slowing down, it is now generally agreed that a rise in consumer spending is essential to spur recovery. Yet, despite this need, retail sales are going down.

It appears that the recession is now beginning to feed upon itself. It is at this stage that the downturn—unless checked by immediate action—could sink deeper and become a prolonged depression.

Even if the most optimistic predictions about an upturn by autumn



WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER

do come true—and we fervently hope that action will now be taken to justify this optimism—a very high level of unemployment will inevitably continue through next winter and perhaps beyond.

Production rises faster than employment during the business upturn. Furthermore, our labor force is not a static thing. It grows as our population of working age expands. Even if within six or nine months the economy actually returns to the production level of the summer of 1957, the job deficit will still be most severe.

WHEN we of the labor movement contemplate the impact of mass unemployment, we think first of the tragedy that affects the lives of men, women and children. But even more is involved than the desperate physical needs of millions. There is also the sense of hopelessness and frustration which prolonged unemployment inevitably induces. No statistic can ever measure in dollar costs the loss of self-confidence and the anguish which unemployment brings.

In terms of sheer physical loss, the cost of this recession already adds up

to billions of dollars of lost production when measured against the goods and services America could have produced if our normal rate of growth had been maintained.

We are now losing output at an annual rate of at least \$25 billion to \$30 billion a year. In steel alone this recession is already robbing the nation of over a million tons a week. Just imagine what the prevention of this loss might have meant to America in terms of more schools and homes and vitally needed buildings and commodities of all kinds.

However, the major cost of this recession can neither be measured in terms of the statistics on unemployment nor of the wealth we could be producing but are not. To my mind, its greatest cost is its unfortunate impact upon the prestige of the United States around the world.

Declining demand for raw materials here at home is already reducing the output levels and selling prices of the commodities in the underdeveloped countries overseas that produce and normally supply us with many of them. At precisely the time that the United States is seeking to strengthen the economies of these nations and to build their allegiance to freedom's cause, our home-grown recession is dangerously weakening the effectiveness of our foreign policy objectives.

Furthermore, our recession is being pointed to by the Soviet bloc to support its propaganda that communism is winning the cold war in the economic field. While our industrial output has admittedly gone down by about 12 per cent during the course of the year, the Russians boast that their output has increased by almost that amount.

In the face of these grim facts, how is it possible that there are still those in Washington who argue that the federal government must still "wait and see" before acting vigorously to (Continued on Page 31)



With all their inadequacies, the schools are doing the job—but there is much need of improvement.

Why Have Public Schools?

By JOHN D. CONNORS
AFL-CIO Director of Education

OVERHEARD on a college campus: "All our schools teach is readin', 'ritin and 'rithmetic. They do not really educate." Overheard downtown in the barber shop: "The schools spend all their time on fringes, instead of training people how to make a living. They should get back to the three R's."

Criticism of the schools has become a national pastime—and some of the criticism is justified.

Some of the criticisms come from eminent educators and others of competency. Others are from the self-appointed experts who may have been in the mind of the person who defined "expert" as "one who knows the answers but not the questions."

Are our schools letting students do what they choose, even if that is lim-

ited to driver training, outdoor camping and woodwork? Are the schools teaching too much literature, art and civics and not enough of the "practical" subjects? Are the high schools a carnival of cheering, dancing, sport contests?

The answers to all the charges and counter-charges are not clear or universal. Your answers depend on your city's school system. It is probably not half as bad as some pretend nor half as good as your children deserve. Find out for yourself.

There are some general observations which might be made, particularly from the view of trade unionists. The first is that we favor the improvement of our public schools. This is because the movement knows *why* America needs public schools.



Some will say: "But having public schools is no longer debatable!" But is that so?

Some 100 years ago, when the trade unions and other liberal groups were fighting to establish the public school system, opposition was overt and occasionally even violent. Under whatever banner the opponents gathered, most held one of two basic positions. One group opposed the taxes which would be required to finance public schools; this group felt it would have to bear a great part of that tax burden. The other group opposed establishment of a public school system as a public function, arguing that this was a private matter and not a responsibility of society.

Then, as now, the two opposition groups were allied. Today the debate is the same, although the semantics have changed.

In 1958 no responsible group seriously and openly questions the responsibility of the political structure to include an opportunity for free, universal education through at least the eleventh or twelfth grade. This does not mean that every segment of society is convinced that this opportunity is a social right. It does mean that there is such wide public acceptance of the idea that public opposition to it would be laughed from the forum of responsible public discussion. Accordingly, those who object to this opportunity for education have changed their tactics.

THE strategy now is to flank the citadel in which this social right resides. This attack by indirection takes various forms, but it hinges everywhere on the tactic of presenting the public with dilemmas or apparent dilemmas.

An example in the West might be to cry out that tax money for schools is not available because so much taxable land is owned by the federal government, and at the same time to cry out against federal aid as identical with federal control.

In the East the trappings might be to view high tax rates as discouraging industrial redevelopment—so discouraging local and state tax support for schools—and, by an illogical appeal to regional interest, simultaneously to oppose federal aid programs as an Eastern subsidy of the South.

In the South the approach could be to use the inflammatory desegregation issue as a subterfuge to close the pub-

lic schools, even at the risk of encouraging anarchy. ("We want public schools, but only if segregated. Since they cannot be segregated for much longer, we must close them.") This might be termed the crocodile tear drowning of public schools.

In the Middle West the tactic is to suggest state aid in place of federal, local aid in lieu of state aid, and, finally, opposition to loans, taxes, bondings and other local efforts to solve the problem.

Given the critical teacher, classroom and scholarship shortages that exist, the salt of sarcasm is then poured into the near-lethal wound with mocking reference to the juvenile delinquent and the country club atmosphere of some of the secondary schools.

What of the defenders of the public schools? As someone once stated, "Lord, save us from our friends." This has partially been the case in the current controversy.

Some advocates of public education have simply denied major allegations, in the face of the facts. They would say, for example, that all criticism of the schools is in bad faith, that successful "life adjustment" can substitute for knowledge, that self-expression by the individual student is as valuable as a disciplined mind. They would also say that teachers need not make "value judgments" but can let each child decide truth, that a thirteen-year-old may know enough to determine his own course of study, that "teachers" may lead discussions of callow youth on world problems or ethical values but must not teach as if they know more than the students.

The fallacy here, again, is in the apparent dilemmas. Here is just one example: Freedom of inquiry, far from being incompatible with mental and social discipline, is in fact conditioned on discipline. Otherwise it is not free inquiry but license to grope in the dark.

The point, it seems, is that this is a complex problem of many facets, covered over by a fog of gobbledegook which would make even government bureaucrats fidget in incomprehension. Truly ours is the age of the word man, the persuader, the ad man, the propagandist. And at the top of this mountain of words stands Education, half hidden by the haze of platitudes and half-truisms.

Aside from the problems of educa-

tion as an art there is the ever-present financial problem.

It seems to most of us in the labor movement that one glaring need is for expanded federal aid in the field of education. Federal aid to education is not as old as the hills but it is about as old as the republic. For the past century, beginning with help to the states to establish land-grant colleges, it has played an increasingly important role.

We now propose that there be a recognition of the full federal responsibility for this national problem. In this, however, we are met by a great hue and cry.

It is suggested that federal aid means federal control, the long experience to the contrary being conveniently ignored. Actually all major proposals for federal aid specifically prohibit any attempt at federal control of education—probably because no responsible group would tolerate a national uniformity in, or control of, education. This dark "threat" then disappears in the cold light of American history and statutory proscription.

THE real opposition to federal financial aid to education is because of the taxation question. The federal tax system is based essentially on graduated corporate and personal income levies—progressive, workable and equitable. The states' tax systems are based essentially on regressive levies, such as sales taxes which deny the principle of ability to pay and which tax a higher percentage of the poor and middle-income group's income than that of the wealthy.

Here is the real reason for opposition to federal aid to education. This is why we have such a din raised by the apostles of federal impotency.

If they cannot avoid all taxes in support of schools by depriving the children of an education, at least they can be sure that you—not they—pay the lion's share.

Given all of the problems, however, the trade union movement has clear ideas on public schools. What, positively, does organized labor expect government, through our school system, to accomplish?

Chief among trade union interests are those set out at the most recent AFL-CIO convention. These include the provision of enough good school rooms, raising teachers' salaries to a fair figure, providing college scholar-

ships for competent young people and giving proper emphasis to the needs of vocational and apprenticeship training.

Our national classroom picture is deplorable. The minimum, conservative estimates of the U.S. Office of Education alone tell a grim tale. Next September the nation will need 44,000 new classrooms just to accommodate the higher enrollments. Additionally, from 14,000 to 20,000 new classrooms will be needed just to replace those which have become obsolete, outmoded or downright dangerous.

These figures are not part of the general existing shortage. Back in September of 1957 we had a national classroom shortage of 140,400 units.

This, then, is the dimension of the problem. In human terms it means hundreds of teachers in thousands of makeshift facilities trying to teach millions of children, some of whom are going to school on a shift basis.

Whatever else one can say about this critical shortage, one thing is certain. Action on this problem cannot, as the Administration has suggested, be deferred. Some have suggested that a broad program of federal aid for school construction would help to employ some of the millions of workers involuntarily idle during the current recession. This is eminently true and important. However, depression, recession or prosperity, the need of our children for good, safe classrooms remains.

One must hope that we do not measure the worth of our children by the salaries we pay the ones molding their minds.

In discussions of this question irrelevancies play a big part. Often one hears that "teachers make less than the garbage collectors." Does it really make any difference, other than for possible comparison of values? The point is not that this or that worker may receive a good wage but that the teacher does not.

Primarily the teacher's problem is a lack of organization. Only through joining a bonafide trade union of professional classroom teachers, independent of the

supervisors and administrators, can the teacher progress economically. Within the AFL-CIO we have such an organization, the American Federation of Teachers.

As in school construction, we believe that here, too, is an area of federal responsibility. The problem is a national one. It is the United States as a whole that suffers when, as now, 91,200 full-time teachers are in our schools on an "emergency" basis, the holders of substandard certificates. Some 69,800 of these are elementary teachers and 21,400 are high school teachers.

Why the problem? Basically the problem is economic. The average teacher does not make enough to sustain himself and his family adequately—and the figures prove this assertion.

In 1955 the Heller Committee of the University of California established a "family living standard," by no means luxurious, which—adjusted to 1957 prices—would require an annual income of \$5776.

To put it differently, how much should teachers receive? Should they receive less than \$100 per week on an annual basis, say merely \$5000 per

year? Only two states have an average teacher's income that high. The average income of U.S. teachers in 1957 was only \$4300.

Will this problem solve itself through use of the present local-state process without federal aid? How many new teachers can we expect to attract with a median beginning salary of only \$3600?

FOR MANY years the national government has been assisting college students on a wide scale, with scholarships and otherwise. The greatest effort, of course, and one which made an immeasurable contribution to American culture and strength, was the GI Bill of Rights educational program following World War II.

It is on this experience, based on federal grants to qualified candidates, to study whatever courses they choose at whatever approved institution they pick, that current proposals command support.

The AFL-CIO has urged Congress to enact a program of federal scholarships for competent high school graduates, with each grantee attending the accredited college or university of his or her choice. We oppose suggestions that a candidate must pass either a "need" test or a "means" test, just as we oppose any such provision in social security, the workmen's compensation program or fire protection.

Our position is that the right to a thirteenth through a sixteenth year of schooling—for those able to benefit by it—should be a broad social right which this richest country in history can provide.

A truly crippling amendment, to the AFL-CIO, would be one restricting the scholarship program to those studying in fields of current interest to the government. Whatever any given national Administration may feel has priority, we do not believe that society's long-term interest dictates such a restriction.

Therefore, we oppose restricting of grants to those who are working in science, languages or mathematics. We (Continued on Page 30)



One must hope that we don't measure the worth of our children by the salaries of their teachers.



The work they do is essential, but they receive meager compensation.

People Who Are POOR

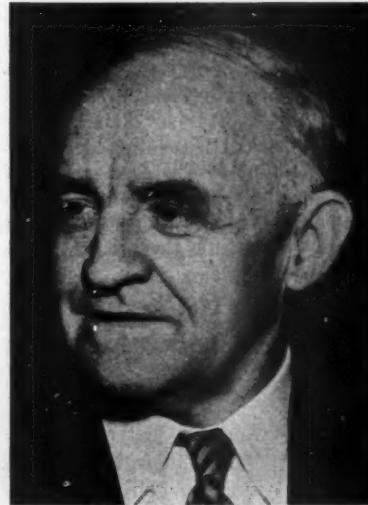
By **FRANK P. GRAHAM**
Chairman, National Sharecroppers Fund

WHAT is the attitude of the American people toward the plight of the unorganized sharecroppers, tenant farmers, agricultural workers and especially the migratory farm workers?

Wandering people, fathers, mothers and children, move across our continent—rootless, homeless and almost defenseless.

Too often these wanderers are considered the "no-gooders" of our time, forgotten and neglected by the America which, in its heroic building, was partly made of such as these, the disinherited of other lands who sought a fairer chance for themselves and their children. Our migrant workers become disillusioned in the land of liberty and are made hopeless in the land of the pilgrim's hope.

The plight of the migratory agricultural workers and of the small farmers is of vital concern to organized labor and to us all. While the incomes of business, professional and urban labor groups have been rising for some years, the income of our small farmers has been going down. Descending agricultural income has fallen hard upon farm families who for generations have been the source of renewal of the robustness of the American way of life and hope.



FRANK P. GRAHAM

The tenant farmers, sharecroppers and farm laborers are worse off. And hardest of all is the lot of the migrant farm workers and their children as they move from state to state, season to season and crop to crop. The migrants are the most forgotten and neglected human beings in our land.

One of the cruel anomalies of our society is that, while scores of thousands of American farm families and farm workers are leaving the fields

of their fathers, scores of thousands of migrant farm workers from other countries come to the United States annually. The low wages paid to agricultural workers and their conditions of life are intolerable to most American workers. A labor shortage is thus certified, on the basis of which imported workers come into the United States under the existing laws. Thus a vicious circle develops, to the damage of both the imported and the domestic workers, to American labor standards and to our whole society.

In a pamphlet entitled "This Is the Migrant," the manager of a large industrialized farm is quoted as saying that the composition of the migrants changes with the years, but "one thing is sure: whoever they are, they always are the people, come spring, who are the hungriest."

The President's Commission on Migratory Labor in American Agriculture, headed by Dean M. T. Van Hecke, says in its significant report:

"We depend on misfortune to build up our force of migratory workers, and when the supply is low because there is not enough misfortune at home, we rely on misfortune abroad to replenish the supply."

Uncounted victims of misfortune abroad or at home, farmers forced off

their own farms or out of sharecropping by the expansion of mechanized and corporate farming, join the stream of migrant workers. According to figures in the pamphlet I have cited, there were 25,000 migrant workers in the East Coast stream before the Second World War; only 10,000 in 1943; again 25,000 in 1946; and 58,000 in 1949. Since 1949 the totals have been increasing.

Statistics on the wages of migrants are neither complete nor always reliable. According to a survey of Florida camps in January, 1955, the migrants averaged 182 days of work in a year and averaged in annual earnings \$1733 for the whole household.

Annual individual income was estimated to be \$600 (*Harvard Law Review*, April 10, 1958). In the same article, the following hourly rates were listed: Lowndes County, Georgia — tractor drivers, 75 cents; cotton choppers, 50 cents; tobacco workers, 37 to 62 cents. Clinton, Louisiana — tractor drivers, 63 cents; cotton choppers, 25 cents. Coahoma County, Mississippi — tractor drivers, 87 cents; cotton choppers, 37 cents. Cotton and melon pickers in the Imperial Valley of California earn between 57 and 70 cents an hour.

TEN thousand migratory workers, with their families, were stranded in Florida during the protracted rains and freezes last January. The *New York Times*, in its January 19 issue, reported:

"The State Welfare Board has rationed enough staple food items to keep adults from starving. The children have not been helped enough, welfare officials said, because babies cannot be fed corn meal, cheese or beans."

In some respects foreign migrant workers, covered by international agreements with provisions for inspection, are better off than domestic farm workers. Agricultural workers are excluded from the benefits of the Fair Labor Standards Act. They are not eligible for unemployment compensation. They cannot make use of the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act for organization and collective bargaining.

Migrants work the hours and accept the conditions available in response to the desperate needs of their families. Only in Connecticut, Ohio, Vermont,

Hawaii and Puerto Rico do workers' compensation laws cover agricultural workers. Eleven other states have some coverage that is elective, dependent on the amount of the payroll or limited to mechanized occupations.

Rights and privileges have been rightfully won by labor unions for industrial workers in their long and valiant struggle to organize and engage in collective bargaining with corporate management. These rights have not yet been won for agricultural workers. They are still without long-overdue equal rights and privileges in organization, collective bargaining and participation in the determination of fair conditions of life and labor.

The Harvard Law Review, discussing the migrants' conditions, says:

"When working, the migrants live in agricultural labor camps. The great majority of these cannot be described adequately to do their wretchedness justice. Abandoned barns, army barracks and chicken coops constitute the shelters migrants call home. Men, women and children are often herded into one room.

"Crowded and unsanitary conditions are blamed for a high incidence of respiratory diseases among migrants. Medical facilities are minimal. Cases of infant diarrhea, for example, very frequently do not receive treatment. The perpetuation of this miserable plight from parent to child is favored by the inferior and sporadic schooling given the children.

"Migrants, living from day to day,

have little resources to meet emergencies such as the recent crop freezes and floods in the South. Crop freezes in Florida brought reports like:

"Whole families are forced to live in the open. * * * Many are making homes in cardboard and any other kind of makeshift shacks in the woods."

"Meanwhile in California there were no weather problems, just the ordinary situation for migrants described as: 'Longest slum in the world.'"

The local communities, the states, the nation, schools, churches, public agencies of health and welfare, the voluntary associations—all have a responsibility to help agricultural workers and the migrant farm families in our midst to achieve the legal provisions for minimum wages, equal rights of organization and collective bargaining, social security, education, health and welfare.

THE best answer made by defenseless and exploited people in ages past has been self-help through self-organization. Organization has been tried and vindicated in religion, politics, business, the professions and labor.

At the time of the industrial revolution, factory workers were considered fit subjects for exploitation. Against the opposition of the state, the corporations, the police and the courts, the factory workers won their struggle for self-organization. Labor unions (*Continued on Page 31*)

The housing provided for the migratory workers is usually wretched.



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JUN

ORGANIZED LABOR IN ISRAEL

By PINHAS LAVON
General Secretary of Histadrut

ISRAEL has been able to build, to grow and to prosper because of the creative labor of its people. This labor started long before the establishment of Israel by decision of the United Nations ten years ago.

As early as 1920 we founded the Histadrut, the General Federation of Labor in Israel, as the workers' tool in the upbuilding of the land. It was then that we dedicated ourselves to the task of constructive labor in the spirit of freedom. In 1948, when independence at last arrived, we already had a strong, disciplined labor movement to serve as the backbone of our national defense and of our national regeneration.

How has the trade union movement of Israel been able to achieve this position of national leadership? There are three basic reasons.

The Histadrut stands for the unity of labor. It unites in its ranks 85 per cent of the workers of Israel. Through the strength which this unity creates, the workers of Israel have been able to secure a fair share of the national income, to defend their right to organize and to bargain collectively with their employers, and to secure decent working conditions and security in their jobs.

This is the first task of all free trade unions, and it has been the primary objective of the Histadrut.

But the preservation of a decent standard of living has been only one facet of the program of the Histadrut in its role of national leadership. We have also seen it as our duty to create employment for our people by building the foundations of a modern economy.

This has meant that the Histadrut, on behalf of the workers, has established economic enterprises of its own. Since our aim was not turning a quick profit, we have devoted our own resources to essential undertakings where the prospect of a financial return was too remote to interest the private investor. This is the way that

a "labor sector" has developed in the Israeli economy, that is, a group of enterprises belonging to the labor movement as a whole.

These enterprises have proven to be of prime importance in our economic progress. They have played the dominant role in our conquest of the desert, in the development of transportation and heavy industry, and in the creation of new jobs for thousands of the immigrants who have come to Israel in these ten years.

This creative initiative is the second reason for our position of leadership.

The third reason is our tradition of mutual aid. This began in the earliest years of the labor movement and first found expression in the development of cooperative medical services for the labor pioneers in isolated agricultural settlements. From this developed the workers' sick fund of the Histadrut, which through its network of hospitals, clinics and dispensaries provides comprehensive medical care for two-thirds of the population. But this is only one expression of mutual aid in practice.

IT HAS meant, first and foremost in these ten years of mass immigration, extending a helping hand to the newcomers to our shores, providing them with vocational training to fit them for their new lives and integrating them into our society and culture by teaching them the reborn Hebrew language and making them feel at home in a new land.

From these three principles of labor unity, creative initiative and mutual aid we have succeeded in building a society with two dominant characteristics.

First of all, it is a democratic society. From the choice of workers' committees in the shop to the selection of representatives in our national parliament, it is the ballot box that rules. Secondly, it is a society in which no one needs to feel left out. Despite the great differences in our

origin, tradition or outlook, we are one nation with unity of purpose.

We have indeed enjoyed substantial aid from friends abroad, particularly in the United States. In American labor we have found a staunch supporter and friend. I need only mention the resolution of good wishes that was adopted at the recent AFL-CIO convention as an expression of the ties of friendship and understanding that unite us.

We have also enjoyed close ties of mutual confidence with other trade union movements of the free world. These are expressed through our association with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, that great bulwark of free and democratic labor.

In aid of the efforts of the ICFTU to foster the growth of democratic trade unionism in the former colonial countries of Africa and Asia, we have made a particular effort to develop ties with those areas. We believe that our experience in the field of national development may prove of value to underdeveloped countries.

We have been hosts to trade unionists from many Afro-Asian nations, Moslem states included, who have come to study our institutions and programs. Recently a study mission representing the Ghana Trades Union Congress spent three months in Israel to see to what extent our methods would be suitable to their own struggle for national development.

As we look forward to the next ten years, we see continued struggle ahead. Over half our country is still a desert. To make it "blossom as the rose" will be our great national task in our second decade of statehood.

We are still surrounded by a ring of Arab hostility, requiring us to continue to devote precious resources to the preservation of our national security. But we shall continue to build and create. We are armed with the surest weapon any nation ever possessed—confidence in ourselves and in our future.

THEY LOVED LABOR'S SHOW

By JOSEPH LEWIS

Secretary-Treasurer, *Union Label*
and Service Trades Department, AFL-CIO

NOT since Cincinnati was a little Indian village called Losantiville have the famous Seven Hills surrounding that city looked down on such a colorful celebration as the recent twentieth anniversary AFL-CIO Union Industries Show.

Organized labor and fair employers put the stamp of success on two decades of displaying the crafts and skills of workers and products and services of union companies. Against a background of pending legislation that hides behind the false "right to work" label, Queen City residents and citizens from all over Ohio, Kentucky and Illinois converged on Music Hall for six days of fun, enlightenment and excitement.

Crowds equal to more than half the population of Cincinnati thronged the hall's exhibit spaces to view the elaborately decorated extravaganza. Dignitaries of labor, business and government from across the nation took the speaker's stand on opening day to pay tribute to labor's symbols—the union label, the shop card and the service button.

Visitors to the show during its run of less than a week went away more than ever impressed with the important part workers and their unions play in economic and cultural life. Attendance was so heavy that on several occasions it was necessary to turn away thousands.

Twenty years earlier the big show got its start at Music Hall in Cincinnati. The Union Label and Service Trades Department, which sponsors and produces the exhibition each year, felt it more than appropriate to return to the home of its birth for the twentieth anniversary celebration.

The welcome was marked by friendly hospitality and warm cooperation. The area labor movement worked long and hard prior to the show to make it a success. Cincinnati's labor newspaper, *The Chronicle*, one of America's finest, printed many stories telling trade unionists and their families about the show.

As early as New Year's Day, the message of the Union Industries Show was spread across the land in the pages of labor's newspapers and magazines. Cincinnati's daily papers and its radio and television stations were fully cooperative. Speakers at union meetings urged full attendance.

No wonder, then, that when AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler clipped the ribbon and called the Union Industries Show of 1958 officially open, there were thou-



JOSEPH LEWIS

sands standing in the street, waiting to enter the display halls and see for themselves just how union label goods are made and how shop card and service button services are performed.

Inside Music Hall a whole new community had come into being.

Visitors saw a brewery in miniature, a butcher shop, a post office operation, glass manufacture, a department store, railway and bus systems, television networks, a newspaper plant, all types of construction, a fire depart-



The show attracted tremendous crowds to Cincinnati's Music Hall.

ment, four-color lithographic presses in operation, clothing being made, shoes on display, with candies and goodies and matches and pencils and countless other free gifts for all.

Major prizes included twenty gas and electric ranges, a boat, a live steer, an all-electric kitchen, expensive jewelry, savings bonds, tons of fresh meat, color television sets and many, many others.

There were demonstrations of carpentry, bricklaying, lathing and plastering, pottery manufacturing, meat cutting, electronics, hairdressing, sheep shearing, cake decorating—all against a background of live entertainment and music.

There is a serious purpose behind the annual Union Industries Shows. Certainly the exhibition's educational value cannot be discounted. Neither can the visiting public help but be aware that here workers and their employers join hands in a common endeavor.

Yet the real story of the colorful display of labor's skills and management's ingenuity is as old as the labor movement itself. This is the trade unionist's conviction that it is good for union members to patronize fair employers and to urge their friends and families to follow suit.

The whole idea of the Union Industries Show is to promote the union label, the shop card and the service button. Greater demand for goods turned out by union members and for services marked by labor's symbols means steady employment for our members and more prosperity for all our nation.

The Union Industries Show helps imprint in the minds of those who

Bell's first telephone was tried out by President Joseph A. Beirne of CWA.



Helpful in drawing throngs was loud and lively music.



William Schnitzler (left) opened the show. With him is John Mara, Department head.

visit it the fact that union goods and services are superior in quality.

Here the actual processes of manufacture are performed right before the public's gaze. Here the consumer can feel and touch and taste the wares of the union employer. Here the real story of organized labor is presented in a decorative showcase that leaves a lasting impression. Union benefits and conditions are explained to the non-unionist and his family in a pleasant, persuasive way.

Labor's argument is that goods produced by well-paid workers can't help but be better, that services performed by skilled union technicians are definitely superior. The sure way for the consumer to know goods and services are union is to look for the union label, the shop card and the service button.

Manufacturers who pay good union wages are more apt to use first-quality raw materials. Union members stay on their jobs longer because their conditions are better and become more skilled as years go by. The combination of quality materials and top skill results in superior products.

Electric kitchen worth \$6000 was won by happy Ed Stanley.



Enlarged shop card and two pretty girls joined to publicize union beauty shops.



over \$6000 in all—instead of the all-electric kitchen, pay up his debts and get married in a few weeks.

The Union Label and Service Trades Department of the AFL-CIO is also "rejoiced." We feel that our twentieth anniversary show was a great success. We know that all the

unions and all the concerns which took part can well be proud of the job they did.

We deeply appreciate the hard work done by the labor movement in Ohio and in the Cincinnati area. Our thanks, too, to the labor press. The support from all our labor maga-

zines and papers was immeasurable.

Organized labor can indulge in some justifiable pride as we enter our third decade of publicizing union labels, shop cards and service buttons with live demonstrations of trade unionism wrapped up in the greatest labor-management event in the world.

Give Them a Chance to Work

By MELVIN J. MAAS

Chairman, President's Committee on Employment
of the Physically Handicapped

A DECADE ago the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped was created by act of Congress. The giant task of conducting "a nationwide program of education and promotion" to encourage job opportunities for the physically impaired then began.

When the committee was established, it was generally agreed that the major responsibility in this field must be assumed by management since the hiring of employees is done by management. But soon it was evident that another area was equally important—the task of promoting labor-management cooperation to encourage greater opportunities for the disabled workers.

The efforts of organized labor in this regard have played a major role in making jobs available and desirable to thousands of workers with various types of disability.

Many do not realize that labor has played an active and important role in the program of the President's Committee from the very beginning. Labor's leaders have served faithfully and given much of their time to help make our program effective.

In the first decade of its history the President's Committee accomplished a major aim in helping to organize and assist governors' committees on employment of the handicapped. But even as the state committees became active it was recognized that the program must be expanded with the formation of com-



When a man's abilities are matched to a job's requirements, he will do well.

munity committees. Hiring the handicapped is, basically, a community responsibility. Each community should make every effort to hire the handicapped at home.

This principal objective, to get the program down to the grass roots level, has continued to be the major aim of committee activity. Here is where members of unions throughout the United States can do an important work.

By entering into the activities of community committees on the handicapped, by helping to organize such committees where they do not at present exist and by personally taking a hand in developing job opportunities for the handicapped, the union member can perform a valuable public service.

AFL-CIO President Meany has some definite ideas on the subject. In an address not long ago he said:

"The AFL-CIO organizations recognize the wisdom of active participation in community programs for the physically handicapped and encourage the state and local central bodies to take active part in state and local committees for the employment of the physically handicapped.

"Community participation is, I believe, one of the most important objectives in coming years. Obviously, the best place for the physically handicapped worker to earn a living is in his own community. We maintain that under most conditions any community can absorb its

physically handicapped into its industrial and business life to great advantage."

A survey conducted by the AFL-CIO produced satisfying indications that labor was quite active in programs for employment of the handicapped.

The activities of unions in this field are not by any means restricted to assisting their own members who may become handicapped.

The labor movement is doing far more than merely paying lip service to the program to find jobs for the handicapped. It is giving active, dynamic support which through the years will be a source of lasting satisfaction to all who have shared in this effort to help the handicapped to help themselves through useful work.

Railroading and Unionism

By MICHAEL FOX

President, Railway Employees' Department, AFL-CIO

THE Railway Employees' Department of the AFL-CIO looks after the interests of more than 300,000 railway shop employees. The Department was born of necessity a half century ago. It was formed to enable the affiliated organizations to cooperate on matters of mutual interest. Such cooperation was essential then—and the need is even greater today.

The employees represented by the six affiliated international unions in the Railway Employees' Department work in railway shops, roundhouses and yards. They build, maintain, service, inspect and repair rolling stock, operate heating and stationary power plants and perform other skilled work.

The Department carries on a wide range of activities. It is active in organizing, collective bargaining, legislation, apprentice training and protection of job opportunities.

It was only natural, in the beginning, that the shop crafts and firemen and oilers should cooperate to protect their mutual interests. They worked side by side, performed similar work and were highly skilled in their respective crafts. A close bond among these workers was created.

Before the Department was established, however, the form of organization which would accomplish the purpose of securing closer cooperation at all levels was a problem with which the various unions struggled for some time.

Before the turn of the century, the railroads sought to discourage the unionization of their employees. The employers used the yellow-dog contract, the blacklist and similar union-busting devices.

In addition, the unions found that when they conducted negotiations individually with the roads, one organization was pitted against another. The result was that little or no progress was made in improving wages and working conditions.

In 1893 the first system federa-

tions, composed of Machinists, Boilermakers and Blacksmiths, were organized on the Santa Fe and the Union Pacific. The value of federated action was demonstrated by the success of strikes on those railroads.

Several unsuccessful attempts were made to form industrial unions on the railroads before the federated form of organization was finally adopted.

In 1893 the American Railway Union was organized by Eugene V. Debs. In 1900 another industrial union, the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, was organized. Neither proved successful. Earlier the Knights of Labor had met the same fate.

RECALLING the successful federated action of 1893, the various mechanical trades organizations began to form voluntary system federations on the individual railroads with the sanction of their international officers. By 1908 the sentiment for closer affiliation had grown to such an extent that in that year a tentative organization of the Railway Employees' Department was approved by the American Federation of Labor. Organization of the Department was completed later and the first convention was held in Chicago in January of 1909.

Because of its limited functions, the Department failed to meet the growing demand of the membership for a more militant form of organization. Sparked by the Harriman strike of 1911, which involved the refusal of the Illinois Central Lines to recognize a federated form of organization, an organization known as the Federation of Federations was formed in April of 1912.

This was the type of organization sought by the membership, and by

convention action the Railway Employees' Department was reorganized in 1912, incorporating the laws and officers of the Federation of Federations and retaining only the name of the former organization.

The unions affiliated with the Department at the present time include the International Association of Machinists, the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers, the Sheet Metal Workers International Association, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen and the International Brotherhood of Firemen, Oilers, Helpers, Roundhouse and Railway Shop Laborers.

The plan of organization which has been followed by the Department is designed to guarantee every member representation and to preserve craft autonomy, while at the same time providing for joint federated action.

Just as the affiliated internationals cooperate at the national level through the Department, the system councils, district lodges and joint protective boards of these organizations on each railroad system cooperate through the system federations and the local lodges of the respective organizations cooperate at the various shop points through the local federations.

Democratic procedures are followed throughout in carrying out the functions and activities of the Department. Its constitution provides for a delegate convention every four years at which matters of interest to the employees are considered and a program adopted. The president and secretary-treasurer, who are elected, administer the affairs of the Department between conventions together with the executive council, which is composed of



the chief executives of the affiliated organizations.

The system federations on the various railroads hold conventions periodically, usually every two years, to elect officers and consider problems. The president, vice-president and secretary-treasurer are the system federation officers, and together with the members of the executive board, composed of the general chairmen of the component organizations on the property, carry on the business of the system federation.

With the help and guidance of the Department, the system federations conduct negotiations with management, settle grievances, and carry on other activities to improve working conditions and protect the employees' welfare. And under their jurisdiction, local federations may be organized at various points.

IN ACHIEVING its original purpose of cooperation among the affiliated international unions, the Department's form of organization has made possible certain benefits of incalculable value to the membership.

Perhaps the most important are unity of purpose and increased economic strength. Rather than dissipate their efforts through conflicting policies, the affiliated organizations through their chief executives adopt uniform policies which have behind them the force of the combined membership and produce the greatest good for the greatest number.

Another important benefit is the economy of operation. Instead of a separate division within each international to handle railroad affairs, the Department takes care of these matters, eliminating considerable duplication of cost and effort.

Since the Department deals exclusively with the railroad industry, greater efficiency is achieved because its staff and organization specializes in this field.

Organizing is a field in which the Department has been most effective. The efforts of affiliated organizations have been consolidated. It has been possible to secure maximum utilization of representatives assigned to this work by their respective internationals.

The result has been more effective organization of the unorganized. Such cooperation has been particularly valuable to the unions whose resources are somewhat limited.

When representation is established, the Department directs the activities leading to establishment of contractual relations with the company. After a contract has been negotiated, revisions must be approved by the Department before notice of a desire to change the agreement is served on management by the general chairman, through the system federation.

Following the 1922 strike the railroad shopmen were organized on only a handful of roads. Company unions were set up on the various railroads, and employees were denied the right to organize genuine unions. In the Thirties, particularly after the amendment of the Railway Labor Act in 1934, an intensive organizing campaign was inaugurated by Department affiliates.

The result was the reestablishment of these organizations on virtually every railroad in the country. The Department played an important part in bringing this campaign to a successful conclusion.

The handling of grievances growing out of the application or interpretation of agreements is an important function of the Department.

When a dispute of this character arises it is handled by the local committee under the rules of the agreement. If it cannot be adjusted, it is referred to the general chairman, who handles it up to the highest officer of the railroad designated to handle such grievances or disputes.

If no settlement can be reached, the matter is referred to the union's international office, where it is reviewed. If the case has merit, it is referred to the Railway Employees' Department for further handling with the Second Division of the National Railroad Adjustment Board, set up under the Railway Labor Act to dispose of such grievances and disputes.

Disputes involving more than one craft are submitted by the system federation directly to the Department for handling as federated cases with the Board.

This particular work has grown in volume and importance in recent years. The Department now has a staff of four experts in this field who devote their entire time to this important work.

From time to time, national industrywide movements are conducted to improve wages and working conditions. The unions affiliated with the Department cooperate with the other

non-operating labor organizations in the railroad industry in such movements.

First the demands of the membership as expressed through local resolutions and convention action are discussed by the chief executives of the participating organizations and a uniform program is agreed upon. Then uniform notices are served on the individual properties.

If no settlement is reached, the dispute is considered by national conference committees representing the employees and the carriers. The Employes' Conference Committee is composed of the heads of the participating organizations, including the president of the Department. Usually it is necessary to refer the dispute to an emergency board or an arbitration board before final settlement is reached. The correspondence and the other activities incident to handling the case to a conclusion are the responsibility of the Railway Employees' Department.

ANOTHER important phase of Department activity is the improvement of railroad apprenticeship programs. In recent years a plan was developed by the Department for joint participation of management and labor in apprentice training. The objective was to establish a well-rounded apprenticeship program, including both on-the-job training and related instruction. The program has been adopted by a number of large carriers. The progress made is highly encouraging.

Stabilization of employment is a matter of vital concern. Technological changes as well as consolidations, reorganizations and abandonments have had a serious impact on railroad employment. In addition, the contracting out of work and the un-economical and unwarranted reduc-


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tions in force indulged in by certain carriers to reduce expenses are a constant source of instability of employment.

Some progress has been made through direct negotiations in keeping railroad work in railroad shops and thus stabilizing employment. The Washington job protection agreement of 1936 and the Transportation Act of 1940 offer protection to employees against the adverse effects of consolidations and reorganizations.

This problem has required the continuing attention of the Railway Employees' Department.

Legislation is pending before Congress which would provide for the payment of extended unemployment insurance benefits to career railroad employees—those with at least five years of railroad service—who become unemployed through no fault of their own. The extended benefit periods would vary, depending generally on the length of employment.

LEGISLATIVE work is an important activity of the Department. Officers of the Department appear before committees of Congress and various agencies of the government, such as the Interstate Commerce Commission and the National Mediation Board, when the interests of members of our affiliates are involved.

Litigation of concern to any of the affiliated organizations, when the Executive Council of the Department approves, is processed by the general counsel. When the Railway Labor Act was amended in 1934, there was considerable litigation. The Department acted on behalf of its affiliated organizations in this litigation. The constitutionality of the legislation was established.

The research section, with a director and an assistant, makes a valuable contribution in supplying essential information and technical assistance in connection with the activities of the Department and its affiliated organizations.

The Department serves as a clearing house for everything affecting the welfare of the working people represented by the affiliated organizations. Extensive records are maintained at Department headquarters in Chicago. Such matters as revision of agreements, the handling of grievances, instability of employment, apprenticeship training, as well as numerous questions which relate to the

health and welfare program, the Railroad Retirement Act and the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act, are cleared through the Department.

Over the years the international organizations operating through the Railway Employees' Department have compiled a rather enviable record of achievement and service to the employees they represent. The wages and working conditions of these workers have been substantially standardized throughout the industry.

The Railway Employees' Department and its affiliated international organizations, in cooperation with the other non-operating standard railway labor organizations, have participated in industrywide bargaining with the railroads. Agreements which have been negotiated provide increases in wage rates, vacations with pay up to three weeks, paid holidays, a health and welfare program for employees and their dependents, protection of employees against the adverse effects of consolidations and reorganizations, and the union shop, which is in effect on the majority of the carriers.

The Department and its affiliates have cooperated in securing legislative benefits for railway employees, including the Railway Labor Act, the Rail-

road Retirement Act and the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act. Not only was it deemed essential to secure separate laws covering the railroad industry in these areas, but this legislation has been amended from time to time to provide for increased protection for railway employees.

Bills are pending in Congress to provide for improved railroad retirement annuities and unemployment insurance benefits and to exempt retirement taxes paid by railway employees from federal income tax.

The AFL-CIO Railway Employees' Department is financed by the affiliated internationals on a budget basis.

Primarily a service organization, the Department is dedicated to serve the best interests of the employees. In coordinating the activities of the affiliated organizations to provide efficient representation at the minimum of cost, it is performing an invaluable service to the membership.

We are greatly indebted to the pioneers who had the wisdom and foresight to establish the Railway Employees' Department.

Dedicating their lives to help their fellow men, they created an organization which has stood the test of time and made a substantial contribution to labor's march of progress.

McFetridge Is Honored

TRIBUTE was paid to William L. McFetridge, president of the Building Service Employees International Union and a member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, at a testimonial dinner in Chicago's Palmer House attended by 2,000. He was praised for the high quality of his labor leadership and for his friendly efforts on behalf of Israel.

In attendance at the dinner, in addition to numerous national, state and local leaders of labor, were Governor Stratton of Illinois, Mayor Daley of Chicago, Mayor Wagner of New York and Levi Eshkol, Israel's Minister of Finance.

Mayor Wagner called the guest of honor "a man who has devoted all of his creative talents and energies to the cause of democracy." Mr. Eshkol reviewed his nation's first ten years and previewed its plans for the future.

Speakers noted that the Building Service Employees International Union has grown greatly in size and

prestige under the leadership of Mr. McFetridge. A native of Chicago, he is one of that city's leading citizens. He is chairman of the Citizens' Committee for a Cleaner Chicago. Since 1945 he has served as vice-president of the Chicago Park District.



WILLIAM L. McFETRIDGE



CLINTON M. FAIR

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION FALLS SHORT

By CLINTON M. FAIR

*Assistant Director,
AFL-CIO Department of Social Security*

TOMORROW sixty million Americans will go about their jobs, producing goods and performing services. Tomorrow fifty-five men and women will be killed at work, 322 will be permanently injured and 7,050 will be temporarily disabled.

At the end of the year the U.S. Department of Labor will total the human loss incurred to provide the goods and services our society demands. The report will show that about 14,200 workers were killed on the job, 83,800 were permanently impaired and 1,830,000 suffered temporary disabling injuries.

In the years before workmen's compensation, only the injured worker who could prove negligence on the part of an employer, and who at the same time could prove himself free of the charge of having assumed the risks inherent to his employment, or free of the slightest negligence on his own part, could hope for financial recovery.

The lot of injured workers became so intolerable that people from all walks of life demanded compensation for the workers injured on the job, regardless of fault. Urged by President Theodore Roosevelt, the federal government in 1908 established workmen's compensation for a limited number of its employees. Within a few years most of the states followed suit.

H. M. Somers, who heads the Department of Political Science at Haverford College, is the co-author of a

work entitled "Workmen's Compensation." Summarizing the impact of workmen's compensation in its early days, he says:

"Despite many difficulties and many deficiencies, it contributed greatly to the development of a relatively effective safety system, to the improvement of industrial labor relations, to a better standard of living, to developing the moral sense of responsibility for the maimed and the underprivileged, and to provide subsistence to millions who might otherwise have had no other support."

In the period when state legislatures across the country were enacting their first workmen's compensation laws, Professor Somers points out that compensation without fault was the "symbol of aggressive social experimentation for an improved life on this earth, and it attracted into the movement not just labor people but students, young people, people with a social conscience—the daring doers of their time."

Somewhere along the way the lamp of "aggressive social experimentation" has burned dim. Sensing the diminishing moral sense of responsibility for the maimed and the underprivileged, state legislatures on the whole have failed to provide the improvements necessary to make workmen's compensation meet the needs of a changing environment.

Analysis of the figures of on-the-job injuries clearly plots a course for organized social action if industrial

accidents are to be limited to an irreducible minimum. Safety programs, like other programs, take time and money. Jerome Pollack, social security consultant, recently pointed out that from each dollar set aside by employers for workmen's compensation, less than two and one-half cents are expended to provide safety on the job.

"On the other hand," said Pollack, "more than six times that amount has been set aside to sell an employer an insurance which, by law, he must purchase."

BLUEPRINTS of safety programs at both state and federal levels lie tucked away in desk drawers for lack of interest and money. Only when safety programs are provided adequate financing and when the moral obligation of the employer to provide a safe place of employment is enforceable by law and economics will safety programs get out of the blueprint stage.

Despite improvements in workmen's compensation, the records of the Bureau of Labor Standards, U.S. Department of Labor, indicate that three states provide no medical benefits for occupational disease and nineteen states provide only limited medical benefits. Fourteen of the fifty-four jurisdictions place arbitrary time or cost limits on the amount of medical care which will be provided in accidental injury cases. Most alarming is the horrible failure to pro-

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vide adequate rehabilitation programs.

Wage loss benefits, despite the vigorous efforts of state central bodies to improve them, replace a lesser proportion of wages than they did twenty or forty-five years ago. By contrast, our neighbors of the North show how shocking has been our disregard for those who have been so unfortunate as to suffer injury on the job. The Ontario wage loss benefits replace 75 per cent of an injured worker's average weekly wage, with a maximum amount not to exceed \$72 per week.

One of the objectives of the early crusaders for workmen's compensation was the elimination of costly litigation. This objective has not been fulfilled. Litigation has thrived in every jurisdiction of the United States. The only thing which can be

said is that the quality of the attorneys for the injured worker has improved.

Unlike our neighbors in Ontario, we have not rid ourselves of the nuisances of litigation; indeed, our history is proof of the danger points of a "legalistic" and "forensic" system. In Wyoming, New Mexico, Louisiana, Tennessee and Alabama, workmen's compensation acts are still court-administered.

The AFL-CIO believes that the purposes of workmen's compensation are to limit job-incurred injuries to the irreducible minimum and, to the extent that it is physically and emotionally possible, to make whole the injured worker.

These objectives can be accomplished only when workmen's compensation administration combines safety, medical care, wage loss bene-

fits and rehabilitation into one integrated program. Such a program should secure these benefits for all injured workers without cost to the injured and at minimal cost to society.

William F. Schnitzler, AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer, told organized labor's first national conference on workmen's compensation, recently held in Washington, that the AFL-CIO and its affiliates will carry the fight for these recognized objectives of workmen's compensation into state legislative halls in 1959.

Secretary Schnitzler urged the conferees to work hard for the abolition of the abuses which have brought about the deterioration of the workmen's compensation system and to rededicate themselves to the task of providing a just program of care for those who suffer injuries on the job.

President Murray of New York Federation Dies

After delivering a strong appeal for aid to the jobless at a statewide conference on unemployment, Thomas A. Murray, president of the New York State Federation of Labor, collapsed in the Assembly chamber at Albany and died minutes later in an adjoining office. He was 73 years old.

Governor Averell Harriman immediately adjourned the conference out of respect for "a man who played a great part in developing union activities in the state, a great part in developing industry, one who had the respect and admiration of all in this room."

About 250 representatives of labor and industry stood for a minute of silent tribute.

AFL-CIO President George Meany, a friend of many years and one of Mr. Murray's predecessors as president of the State Federation of Labor, expressed regret and sadness at Mr. Murray's death.

"He died in the very act of serving the workers of his state, the people to whom he devoted his entire life," Mr. Meany said in a telegram to Harold C. Hanover, secretary-treasurer of the state body. "Tom Murray was



THOMAS A. MURRAY

a staunch trade unionist and a fine leader, but he was more than that. He was a true patriot, a real gentleman, a man we were proud to call friend."

Mr. Murray had served as president of the State Federation of Labor for fifteen years. He was elected a vice-president in 1940, and upon the death of the organization's president, Thomas J. Lyons, in the spring of 1943, Mr. Murray was appointed to fill the unexpired term. He was elected to a full term at the convention that summer and won reelection

at all subsequent annual conventions.

A native New Yorker, he started working at the age of 14 as an apprentice bricklayer. After completing his apprenticeship he worked days as a bricklayer while taking evening courses at Cooper Union. For many years he worked as a foreman and general superintendent on construction projects.

In 1933 Mr. Murray was elected chairman of the New York Bricklayers' Executive Committee. He became president of the Building and Construction Trades Council of Greater New York in 1936 and held that office seven years.

A gentle soft-spoken man with a great capacity for conciliation, he was one of the leaders in plans to merge the state AFL and CIO bodies into a new federation, which he was scheduled to head.

Mr. Murray's wife, the former Elizabeth Jane O'Keefe, died in 1936. Surviving are a son, John, and three daughters, Mrs. Edward Hickey, with whom he made his home; Mrs. Alice Davies and Mrs. Harold Anderson.

AFL-CIO President Meany and other leaders of labor attended the funeral, which was held in Yonkers.

The Transport Service Employees

By EUGENE E. FRAZIER
President, United Transport Service Employees

PRIOR to 1937 scattered attempts to organize had been made by red caps in various sections of the country.

In the East organization was developing on the New York Central as the New York Central Brotherhood of Red Caps; on the Pennsylvania Railroad, the Brotherhood of Railroad Station Porters; in Washington, the Washington Terminal Brotherhood of Station Porters; in Boston, the Red Caps Association of Boston.

On the West Coast, at Los Angeles and on the Southern Pacific, the Red Cap Station Porters Union was organized under a federal charter from the American Federation of Labor. Organizational activity was also present at Portland, Oregon.

In the Middle West the Chicago Brotherhood of Red Caps was organized. A federal charter was obtained from the American Federation of Labor. The red caps of every railroad station and terminal company in Chicago joined this local.

Each of the groups had pursued its course independently of the others. The Washington Terminal Brotherhood was certified by the National Mediation Board for purposes of representation at Washington. The other groups met various obstacles when it came to the question of collective bargaining. They were advised that they were not employees of the railroads and therefore not in a position to enter into agreements under the Railway Labor Act.

The net result of this was the exclusion of station porters from all the benefits of legislation that were available to other railroad employees. For the most part, red caps received no wages for their work.

Faced with these problems, the Chicago local decided that the interests of the red caps would best be served by unifying the various independent groups. A call was issued to the red caps of the nation by leaflets which were dropped off in bundles by pullman porters wherever

there were red caps. The notice invited attendance at the Brotherhood of Red Caps convention in Chicago on April 15, 16 and 17, 1937.

In attendance at this convention were representatives from the East, Eugene E. Frazier of Cleveland (New York Central), John Yancey from Memphis (Illinois Central), the late Willard S. Townsend, T. Wilbur Winchester and Otho Robinson (Chicago and Northwestern), Horace Hale and Arthur Brose (Illinois Central), Boland Hosie, Curly Imlach and Matthew King (LaSalle Street Station), Eugene Shepherd (Dearborn Street Station) and William Hicks (Louisville).

This convention selected for the name of the organization the International Brotherhood of Red Caps. A constitution was adopted and the following officers were elected: Willard Townsend, president; T. Wilbur Winchester, secretary; Eugene E. Frazier, John L. Yancey, Otho Robinson and Michael Harvey, vice-presidents; Matthew King, vice-president and treasurer; Boland Hosie, national organizer.

Dissension early hit this infant organization. National Organizer Hosie withdrew from the organization, taking most of the representatives from LaSalle Street Station and Grand Central Station with him. However, Matthew King remained.

Because of the unfamiliarity of the new union's officers with proper procedures, it was decided that an advisory board should be established. Its members were Philip Murray, Heywood Broun of the Newspaper Guild, Professor Paul H. Douglas (now U.S. Senator), Homer Martin of the United Auto Workers, Claude A. Barnett of the Associated Negro Press, Attorney Leon M. Despres and Attorney Fred H. Mandel.

After the 1937 Chicago convention an organizational drive was made to unify the various independent groups throughout the country. President Townsend and Secretary Winchester



EUGENE E. FRAZIER

toured the country, meeting Vice-President Frazier in Cleveland.

Since the union had no funds, this group slept on benches in the railroad stations and in parks. The funds in the possession of this group amounted to \$80, which was used for gas and for repairing Secretary Winchester's Dodge, then about ten years old.

The independent groups, if they were friendly, provided our meals. Otherwise, hot dogs and hamburgers composed the menu.

THE result of this trip was another national gathering. It was held in Chicago on January 14, 15 and 16, 1938. A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters agreed to serve as impartial chairman.

The sessions were highly successful. Unity was established among the nation's red caps, station porters and ushers. The enlarged organization took International Brotherhood of Red Caps as its name and elected the following officers: Willard S. Townsend, president; T. Wilbur Winchester, secretary-treasurer; Eugene E. Frazier, James O. Cannady, Clarence E. Ivey, A. J. McGhee, John Yancey and John Bowers, vice-presidents; S. L. Corrothers, general organizer, and John R. Lee, chairman of the general executive board.

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On January 16, 1938, the union had \$4.86 as operating capital after all convention expenses had been paid. The new constitution had provided for a per capita tax of twenty-five cents per month. Delegates to the first constitutional convention had agreed that, as soon as they returned home, finances for the infant union would be speedily sent to the national office from their former independent groups.

The major problems facing the new union were employee status, obtaining wage structure, getting the benefits of the Railroad Retirement Act and certification by the National Mediation Board.

ONE of the first steps taken by the new union was to seek advice from its advisory board. Howard Gould, industrial secretary of the Chicago Urban League, had the officers of the Chicago Brotherhood of Red caps meet Professor Paul Douglas at the University of Chicago. After he had listened to our problems, he called in Leon Despres, a former trial examiner for the National Labor Relations Board and a lawyer.

Despres advised that we would have to present our case for employee determination to the Interstate Commerce Commission. The union approved this move, and the red caps' fight began.

Despres filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission a request for a determination whether red caps, station porters, ushers and other persons whose duties consisted of or included carrying passengers' baggage and other articles, together with those who supervised or directed the performance of such duties, were employees of the carriers within the meaning of the Railway Labor Act.

The ICC ordered each Class 1 steam railroad, switching and terminal company and Class A electric railway to furnish the information called for in a questionnaire with respect to each passenger station at all cities of over 100,000 population.

On February 20, 1938, ICC examiners reported their findings and recommended to the commission that red caps should be included in the definition of "employees" as used in the Railway Labor Act.

On June 3, the railroads filed their exceptions to the examiners' report and petitioned the commission to set aside the recommendations.

On July 14, oral argument was heard by the ICC. The union's position was presented by attorneys Despres, George E. C. Hayes (who had been the attorney for the Washington Terminal red caps) and Fred Mandel.

On September 29 the Interstate Commerce Commission rendered its decision. The order provided, in effect, that red caps, station porters, ushers, etc., who assisted passengers at passenger stations and other places on carriers' premises and equipment in cities of over 100,000 population, whether such persons received a stated compensation or were entirely dependent upon terms, would be included within the term "employee" as used in the Railway Labor Act.

The ICC's decision gave this group of employees recourse to the provisions of the Railway Labor Act.

The next move of the union was to request certification by the National Mediation Board as the collective

bargaining agency for the red caps employed on the various railroads and terminal companies. During the year following the ICC's decision, the International Brotherhood of Red Caps invoked the services of the National Mediation Board twenty-seven times. The railroads contended that the ICC order applied only to red caps in cities of 100,000 or over, and that red caps in cities of less than 100,000 were not employees for the purposes of the Railway Labor Act.

It was necessary then that the ICC repeat its work for red caps in cities of less than 100,000. The commission ruled that red caps in cities of less than 100,000 were employees for the purpose of the act.

The road was now clear to seek certification on all railroads and terminals in the country. The first battle was won, and the union moved on to the second. The Wage and Hour Law went into effect in 1938 right



In this old picture the union's problems are being discussed by Leon M. Despres (left), counsel; the late Willard S. Townsend (center), president, and Edward Harding, a member of the union.



after the International Brotherhood of Red Caps had won its great victory in the Interstate Commerce Commission.

When the Wage and Hour Law went into effect, the International Brotherhood of Red Caps had to meet its second great challenge as an organization. The challenge came from the powerful Association of American Railroads. The substance of the challenge was the railroads' refusal to pay twenty-five cents an hour in wages as required by the Wage and Hour Law.

The railroads adopted the plan that red caps should report their tips daily, and if they (red caps) did not receive the minimum wage, the railroads would supply the difference. (However, continued employment was more certain if the minimum wage was reported.)

The IBRC accepted the challenge and became the first union to go before the Wage and Hour Division for a ruling in the matter of a company refusing to abide by the law. A hearing was ordered and set for June 27, 1939. The scene was in the auditorium of the Department of Commerce in Washington. Representatives of the IBRC and the Association of American Railroads appeared before the chief economist for the Wage and Hour Division.

The issue was tips in relationship to wages. This was the first instance of a concerted effort to clarify the legal status of tips in relation to wages. The question also affected pullman porters and dining car workers.

The union received a favorable ruling from the Wage and Hour Division, but the roads refused to abide by it. On November 6, 1939, the Wage and Hour Division filed a

civil suit to enjoin the Cincinnati Union Terminal Company from continuing the use of tips to meet federal minimum wage requirements. Two days later attorneys for the union walked into District Court at Chicago and filed similar suits against the New York Central, the Illinois Central, the Chicago and Western Indiana, the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific, the Chicago and Northwestern and the Pennsylvania Railroad.

With this civil suit, the opening shot was fired by the union to recover upward of \$5,000,000 from the railroads in back wages under the provisions of the Wage and Hour Law.

After the Wage and Hour Division ruled that the reporting of tips did not satisfy the requirement of the minimum wage law, the railroads instituted the so-called Cincinnati Plan. This plan required the passengers using red caps to pay ten cents per article. The fees were to be reported daily to the railroad or terminal company.

The union challenged this move in the now famous Stopher case before the Interstate Commerce Commission. However, it was decided that the ICC had no authority to regulate the charges except to the extent necessary to prevent violations of the law's rebate and discrimination provisions.

The railroads had created a reign of terror where red caps were concerned. Many employees were disciplined or discharged. Many cases were like Felix Braxton's at Jackson, Mississippi. Braxton, who had over fifteen years of service with the company, detailed the strain and hardships under which he and others had to work during the tip reporting period.

He testified that, although only making forty or fifty cents a day in tips, he was compelled under threat of discharge to report to company officials tips equal to the minimum wage.

This practice was so prevalent that a Senate resolution called for an investigation of the red caps' conditions. The resolution was introduced by Senator Elbert Thomas of Utah, the chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor. He said:

"The resolution asks that the Wage and Hour Division investigate to determine whether the plan violates

the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 and to determine whether the plan can be regulated by the act. If it cannot, we want to know what legislation can regulate it.

"Since the plan has gone into effect, there have been many complaints that many red caps have been discharged or otherwise discriminated against because their report of tips or the ten-cent charge did not cover the cost to the railroad or terminal company of the minimum wage payments. The purpose of the Wage and Hour Act was to help the low-wage workers. It is therefore of primary interest to the country to see how this act may be affecting various labor groups."

Out of all of these legal skirmishes with the railroads, the union finally won the battle for a legitimate wage. The tip reporting system was discarded and the union moved on to another battle.

Prior to October, 1938, red caps, who at that time constituted the only craft within this union, received no wages whatever. This situation has been corrected. By successive negotiated increases, the wage rate has been pushed up to \$1.72 an hour plus an escalator clause.

For the purpose of the Railroad Retirement Act, the term "compensation" does not include tips. Since red caps before 1938 worked primarily for tips, they did not qualify for any of the benefits of the law's retirement, unemployment and sick benefit provisions.

A UNION survey several years ago revealed that a large percentage of red caps had over twenty years of service with the railroads and an appreciable number had over forty years of service. Most of these older men found themselves forced to retire without any benefits or with the meager benefits based on the few years they had actually received wages.

To correct this situation, the union in cooperation with officials of the Railroad Retirement Board suggested an amendment to the Retirement Act. The proposal was presented to the House of Representatives by Congressman Crosser of Ohio. The bill was passed and the amendment became part of the law.

The amendment provided that all red cap service compensated for solely by tips prior to September 1,

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1941, would be credited toward retirement benefits. The compensation for such period would be the average monthly earnings for the preceding twelve-month period.

On February 9, 1943, representatives of the nation's pullman laundry workers held their first national contract conference in Chicago. This was the first time that these workers had considered their problems of wages and working conditions independently. Previously, company unionism had flourished among the pullman laundry employees.

A nationwide organizational campaign was conducted. Organizing in twelve plants scattered across the country, the union was successful in accomplishing what other unions had feared to tackle. A National Mediation Board election was held, and the pullman laundry workers voted overwhelmingly in favor of the first legitimate union to operate among these workers. In gaining this victory the United Transport Service Employees succeeded where many other labor organizations had failed.

It's Our
American
Privilege to

REGISTER
AND VOTE

District 50 of the United Mine Workers came along. This outfit did not understand the railroad industry. The UTSE moved in and another great citadel of Pullman Company paternalism crumbled.

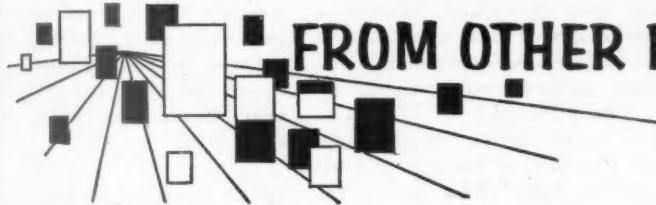
At the time of the first UTSE pullman conference, wages were as low as thirty cents an hour. Today the minimum is \$1.40, with higher rates for different type of work.

The sky caps' problem at various airport terminals throughout the country has always been of concern to the United Transport Service Employees. Several isolated attempts to organize sky caps have been made.

At present our international union represents the great majority of sky caps in the New York area.

The structure of the airline industry is such that the organizing of these workers is made a very difficult task. The employment pattern varies considerably. There are differences in the sky caps' problems from city to city.

The lack of uniformity prevents easy organization under the Railway Labor Act. However, the union believes that the problems of the sky caps, which are very similar to the former problems of the red caps, will be solved in the future.



FROM OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Don't Wait for November

From AFL-CIO News

While the nation's attention is riveted on the recession, atomic disarmament and eruptions of violence in critical areas of the globe, the men who will ultimately shape America's policies on these and other questions are being selected in state primary elections.

Labor has a large stake in the outcome of these primary elections, for they determine whether or not in November a candidate who is enlightened and informed on foreign policy, who supports labor's anti-recession program, the fight on the open shippers and the goal of securing appropriate labor legislation to curb improper practices will be on the ballot.

In the seven primaries held to date and the score or so scheduled for the next sixty days, the makeup of the Eighty-sixth Congress may be determined beyond repair in November.

It's time to couple the fight on unemployment with political action, the fight for a sound foreign policy with an intensive registration drive, the fight against legislation designed to cripple unions with a "know the issues" campaign. And to

make all these effective, a determined effort is needed to collect contributions for COPE.

November may be too late. Let's get going now!

Same Old Story

From the Electrical Workers' Journal

There are many people and many newspapers, acting in the anti-labor climate in which we find ourselves today, that are willing to attack organized labor on almost any grounds, and one particularly popular attack has been leveled at the administration of union welfare and pension plans.

It must be a little ironic to some of our would-be attackers, then, to find the AFL-CIO and its member unions earnestly supporting legislation to regulate all welfare and pension plans, and to find the National Association of Manufacturers just as heartily opposing the measures.

It's the old story that organized labor has tried to prove so many times and that so many find hard to believe. The great bulk of organized labor has nothing to hide. Its record is good, its honesty unquestionable, its desire the best for the

people it represents—everything that is coming to them, including the pensions the unions have worked so long and hard to get for them.

You will find, in every battle for the rights of working people, organized labor is there, willing to stand up and be counted, on the side of what is right and good for those people.

For Today and Tomorrow

From Textile Labor

Unemployment compensation is a cornerstone of the nation's economic stability. Inadequate as it may be, without it we would now have a galloping depression on our hands. So it's essential to update the system instead of resorting to one-shot, patchwork remedies.

The McCarthy-Kennedy bill provides an answer. It would extend the duration of benefits to thirty-nine weeks; it would boost maximum benefits to two-thirds of the state's average weekly wage with the minimum fixed at 50 per cent of worker's weekly income; it would extend coverage to some two million more wage-earners, and it would provide more uniformity among the various states.

This is a basic approach to today's recession and a safeguard against tomorrow's.

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TURMOIL IN INDONESIA

By HARRY GOLDBERG

AS THIS article was being written, the rebel cause in Sumatra appeared doomed. With its military forces dispersed and in full retreat, its leaders forced to escape for personal safety, some of them to the Celebes, to continue the struggle there, the initial phase of the military struggle was drawing to a close.

This outcome is nothing about which the free world can rejoice. Indeed, in the Indonesian events democracy is taking it on the chin. For the civil and military leaders at the head of the rebel cause on Sumatra—supported by similar movements on other islands of the vast archipelago—have for years symbolized the constructive democratic opposition to the increasingly pro-Communist course taken by President Sukarno and his supporters which has brought Indonesia to the verge of economic ruin and a political instability that can only enormously advance the cause of communism in the country.

The criminal act of the civil war was launched by Sukarno under the spur chiefly of the Communists. Political leaders in Jakarta, even of parties not agreeing with the proclamation at Padang of the new revolutionary government, had urged moderation upon Sukarno and a further attempt to iron out the long-standing differences by negotiation around a table. But he listened to the Communists instead.

The rebels, on their part, neither desired nor envisaged military action. Sjafruddin, upon being appointed head of the new rebel government on February 15, said in his inaugural address:

"Our present struggle is not between the outer islands and the central government. It is not a separatist movement to disrupt the integrity of the republic. On the contrary, it is a struggle to establish a just and prosperous Indonesian state."

The rebels had hoped that the proclamation of their new government would crystallize the wide dissatisfaction existing in the country, bring

North and South Sumatra openly to their side, make more vocal the critical elements known to exist on Java, and thus bring about sufficient pressure upon Sukarno to force him to meet their demands halfway.

The causes of the dissatisfaction that has rocked the country have been deep and long-standing. The outer islands, and especially Sumatra, have objected to Javanese financial exploitation. Sumatra, the island richest in natural resources, furnished about 65 per cent of the total dollar-earning products of Indonesia and had received, in return, about 16 per cent of available national funds.

Sumatra has demanded a greater return for use in developing and building up its own island and raising the extremely low standard of living of its people. Concurrently, on the political level, the island demands a greater degree of local autonomy. It favors a federated rather than a centralized, unitary republic rigidly directed from Jakarta.

The steadily developing anti-democratic tendency of Sukarno and his Nationalist Party (PNI) during the last three years roused great resentment throughout the country. Beginning under the premiership of Ali Sastroamidjojo, former Indonesian ambassador to the United States, this tendency found full flower later in Sukarno's idea of a "guided democracy" after his 1956 trips to the Soviet Union and Red China.

He dismissed the existing cabinet, created a new private one under the present premier, Djuanda, and a national advisory council which includes known Communists and fellow travelers and is headed by Ruslan Abdulgani, a former foreign minister in Ali's government, who had been forced to resign his post when the Supreme Court of Indonesia found him guilty of financial malfeasance.

These steps have been in clear violation of the existing constitution and practically negated the national election of 1955 by bypassing the existing political parties (which Sukarno had vowed "to bury") and the elected

Parliament, which today has practically no power and acts merely as a rubber stamp for the "suggestions" of Sukarno through his advisory council.

Because of the conciliatory, even cooperative attitude of the Ali government toward the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) and because of Sukarno's more recent "new course," the Communists of Indonesia have grown tremendously in strength and influence. In the national elections of 1955 the PKI received 6,176,914 votes out of a total of 37,785,299 and emerged last among the four large political parties of Indonesia, after the PNI and the two large Moslem parties, the Masjumi and the Nahdatul Ulama.

However, in the local Javanese elections of 1957, less than two years later, the PKI emerged as the strongest single party, gaining in many strategic sections an absolute majority of the vote and capturing the administration in some of Java's chief cities.

THE rebels want a just distribution of the national funds at hand, an increase of local autonomy, the return to a basically democratic political setup, removal of the Communists from any trace of influence in Indonesian governmental affairs, a responsible economic and financial policy for the country and the end to the widespread corruption in government.

The rebels had asked for the replacement of the present Djuanda cabinet by a new one headed by former Vice-President Hatta, a firm anti-Communist who has great prestige in the outlying islands. Hatta had resigned his vice-presidency because of his disagreement with Sukarno's increasingly authoritarian tack.

However, Hatta's hesitation in the crisis has disillusioned many of his former followers and possibly lost him the leadership of the democratic opposition in Indonesia.

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rest of the world that the division in Indonesia is not deep-going and that the differences are not based upon fundamentally important matters, that only a few disgruntled local elements are involved and that the issue of communism does not enter into the struggle.

The truth is otherwise. The issues are deep-going and of long standing. They have divided the country right down the middle. Even parties and leaders on Java who, for one reason or another, did not support the Sumatran rebels have from the beginning been sharp critics of Sukarno's course.

As for those civil leaders from Java who did join the rebels, their roster includes three former prime ministers of Indonesia, all leaders of the largest Moslem party, the Masjumi (Natsir, its chairman, Sjafruddin, head of the rebel government, and Harahap); former Indonesian cabinet ministers, like Sumitro, ex-minister of finance and a leader of the Socialist Party of Indonesia; embassy personnel, including ambassadors, from various embassies throughout the world.

These men, especially the four named, are hardly "nobodies" or "disgruntled local elements." They are dedicated patriots who have served Indonesia well in the past.

As for the claim that communism as an issue doesn't enter into the matter at all, that is merely a smoke-screen to fool the ignorant or the naive. The most enthusiastic supporter of Sukarno in his present course is the Communist Party of Indonesia. That is as natural as it is logical from its point of view.

He is objectively doing its work. Dismemberment of the Masjumi, the largest and firmest anti-Communist political organization in the country; destruction of the best and most courageous democratic elements; the spread of confusion, division, economic and political chaos throughout the country — all are up the Communists' alley.

It is no exaggeration to say that today the PKI and SOBSI (the Communist-dominated labor federation) furnish the chief social base of support for Sukarno. Though Sukarno may think he is using them, to a much greater extent than he seems to know, or is willing to admit, he is today their prisoner.

How Sukarno himself illustrates his growing leaning toward communism

was dramatically shown in his speech on April 24, on the occasion of the celebration of the third anniversary of the Bandung conference, during the course of which he said:

"The African-Asian nations faced dangers that were brought on by the capitalist system * * *. The danger of the A-bomb and the H-bomb, all born of the capitalist system, should be wiped out. * * *

"Thirteen countries containing a third of the human race are Socialist. * * * The new era will be marked by socialism and the brotherhood of man and the fall of capitalism and imperialism, which is an historical certainty. * * * Those who cannot understand or who oppose the trend of the times will be destroyed."

SO THERE we have it! By the new "Socialist" countries Sukarno means Communist Russia, her satellites and Red China. The ideal society for him—and which he is evidently urging Indonesia to emulate—is one which, as in Hungary, drowns in blood the simple elemental attempt of the people to gain freedom, which is the greatest imperialist aggrandizer of modern times, which works unceasingly for the domination of the world.

No wonder the Indonesian Communists cheer Sukarno to the skies.

The free world would do well to ponder his words and notice how similar they are to Nikita Khrushchev's threat to world democracy: "We will bury you."

Sukarno is traveling with seven-league boots toward idealistic agreement with communism. Jakarta is leaning more and more on economic

and military aid from the Communist bloc, thus being driven increasingly under Communist influence.

Sukarno's beloved model is Red China. And while the Communists, internally, have gained more than a mere toehold on Java, the most populous of the islands, and the Communist bloc, externally, is already beginning to look at this very valuable piece of real estate with the eyes of a future mortgagee, the free world is submitting to blackmail and maintaining a policy of correct, formal neutrality.

Military defeat of the rebels will not solve the Indonesian crisis. The issues and differences which brought things to a head between Sukarno and his critics throughout the islands remain. A long period of guerrilla warfare from the jungles and mountains of Sumatra and the other islands is distinctly possible.

It is one thing to defeat the rebels in open military action and another to police and control huge Sumatra and the other islands at the point of a bayonet when the basic economic and political dissatisfactions remain. And Sukarno hasn't given the slightest indication to date that he is willing to discuss and negotiate about differences, to consider backtracking from his pro-Communist course.

In this very grave situation for the Indonesian people who are fighting desperately to prevent their beautiful, rich and strategically important country from being taken over by world communism, an agonizing reappraisal by the United States, of policy to date would seem to be very much in order.

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Labor NEWS BRIEFS

►Directly Affiliated Local 23843 has achieved a 100 per cent record for dollar contributions to the 1958 COPE drive. James L. McDevitt, COPE's national director, has forwarded an honor award to Mrs. Edna Kniss of Duluth, Minn., the local's secretary-treasurer.

►Ground has been broken in Washington for the new home of *Labor*, weekly newspaper published by railroad unions. Senator Lyndon B. Johnson and Speaker Sam Rayburn were among the principal participants in the ceremony.

►During the first three months of 1958, the New York State Department of Labor collected more than \$200,000 in minimum wage underpayments. The money was distributed to 5,804 workers who had been victimized by 2,665 enterprises.

►The nation's capital will be the scene of an important meeting of leaders and administrators of health and medical programs. The gathering, under the auspices of the American Labor Health Association, has been scheduled for June 16 and 17.

►The National Labor Relations Board recently certified the United Rubber Workers as the bargaining representative of employees of the Royal Manufacturing Company, which is located at Prescott, Ariz.

►The British Trades Union Congress has made a contribution to the fund for the British Empire and Commonwealth Games, which are scheduled to be held later in the year.

►An agreement which will mean about \$20,000 in back pay for brakemen crews has been signed with the Frisco Lines. The accord provides that road switchers will get the rate now paid to brakemen.

►Students from Southern Methodist University recently visited the Dallas Labor Temple. They showed deep interest in current bargaining proposals and labor's overall objectives.

►Local 201, Tobacco Workers, has voted to accept a new contract at P. Lorillard Company, Louisville, Ky. Under the pact, which affects 2,500 workers, wages are boosted, fringe benefits increased and plant-wide seniority established.

►The Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen has negotiated a new agreement for yardmen employed by the Boston and Albany Railroad. Containing many new rules, the pact will provide improved working conditions.

►Labor at Lansing, Mich., played host to area clergymen in the first of a series of meetings designed to promote better understanding and a closer relationship between the clergy and the labor movement.

►Local 84, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, has won higher wages for bartenders and tavern waitresses in a new contract with owners of cafes at Hibbing and Chisholm in Minnesota. The agreement is for two years.

►Italy's Star of Solidarity has been presented to Alfred Rota, vice-president of the Upholsterers International Union. Ceremonies took place at the Italian consulate in Chicago.

►A union leader has been named president of the Duluth, Minn., Welfare Council for the first time in its long history. Delegates elected Frank W. Johnson, chairman of the local AFL-CIO central body's Community Services Committee.

►The thirty-fifth annual meeting of the Illinois Joint Conference of Bus Drivers was held recently in Peoria. Delegates from fourteen locals of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes were in attendance.

►Five British trade unionists will go to the United States next winter as guests of the English-Speaking Union. They will be chosen from workers between 25 and 40 who have been active in their unions.

►W. H. Savage, chairman of the Texas State Legislative Board of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, resigned because of ill health. E. P. Lawrence, vice-chairman, was elected to fill the unexpired term.

►Good organizing progress in several cities of Texas has been reported by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employes.

Why Have Public Schools?

(Continued from Page 12)

urge that moral values, the arts, the humanities, the learned professions, teaching all deserve as much consideration.

The AFL-CIO believes that the proposed federal scholarship program is the next great advance possible for our nation and our youth.

An important recent development in education has been the advent of junior colleges at the city level. As a companion to these we should develop technical institutes at the same level. These could serve as "graduate schools" for our apprentices. Their purpose would be to complete the trinity of opportunities for the highly skilled workmen demanded by

this complex technology which provides our high standard of living.

We start with vocational education classes in the high school for those who will interrupt their academic pursuits on graduation. From there we offer apprenticeship programs in various forms through the joint apprenticeship committees. Now we need a further step—the technical institute.

Today's increasingly complex technology requires more training and retraining than ever before. The worker in electronics, for example, is today a highly skilled craftsman. Those who will construct and those who will operate industrial units powered by atomic energy require train-

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ing in depth in many subject areas. Production, maintenance and operation control of automated equipment cannot be accomplished without a rigorous and prolonged training.

It is for these reasons that we urge more attention, by all levels of education and all levels of government, to the problems of vocational education and apprenticeship training. For these reasons prompt studies of technical institutes should be commenced.

At this stage the reader may sigh and say: "It's too big a job." Certainly it is a big one. But then the

job of preserving freedom and democracy and of advancing them everywhere is a big job.

We have a running start in this job in the present schools. Given their many inadequacies, our private, parochial and public schools are basically doing the job. It was they which educated those who today lead the America which, in turn, leads the world.

An essential element in our school system is the public school. It is this school that provides for each and every American child the oppor-

tunity for free education. Without this opportunity—the chance for every future voter to learn—we could not survive as a democracy. Improving these schools and these opportunities on into college is, indeed, a big job.

The AFL-CIO convention actions show that America's free trade unions believe the job can be done. They show that American workers are willing to pay their share and to do their share and more. We in the AFL-CIO are confident that most Americans are of like mind.

This Unnecessary Recession

(Continued from Page 9)

end this unnecessary recession? It is clear to us that the responsibility of the federal government to act decisively is even greater today than when Congress recognized its responsibility to aid the jobless by the passage of the Employment Act of 1946.

Yet there are those both in Congress and the Administration who

still shudder at the thought of taking affirmative action to restore the economy lest it encourage inflation, they say.

On the other hand, these same people did little or nothing to stop inflation during the years when it was building up.

Concern about inflation in the fu-

ture is no valid excuse for failing to meet the tragedy of recession which Americans face today. Recently Dr. Arthur Burns, former chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, properly pointed out:

"Much good can come from recognizing our mistaken tolerance of inflation in the past. But it will come by taking resolute steps for dealing with inflation in the future—not by reducing our willingness to curb recession today."

People Who Are Poor

(Continued from Page 14)

became one of the chief motive forces in the movement for universal education, universal suffrage, humanitarian causes and modern democracy.

In a world of organized power, the farm laborers and the migratory workers need union organization and the support of the labor movement to gain a fairer share of the national income and a better life for themselves and their children. It is now the opportunity of organized labor to follow up its courageous war on corruption with positive campaigns to help extend to farm workers and migrant workers the rights and privileges of organization, collective bargaining, minimum wages and fair labor standards which it is the part of justice and enlightened self-interest to win for all workers and all people.

As the family farms disappear before the advance of the corporate farms, a new alliance is in the making between corporate power in industry and corporate power in agriculture. Without the organization of farm workers, political power will respond more to organized financial power than to the human needs of those

who, on farms and in factories, do the work of the world.

This would become more true if labor unions should now follow the mistaken advice of those who would have labor "stick to its knitting" and be unconcerned with political and social actions, civil liberties, the meaning of the trends of the time implicit in so-called "right to work" laws and the related plight of the ag-

ricultural workers and the migrants.

Agricultural workers and the migrant farm families, in these crucial days of the rising power of the corporate farm, with its potential for good and evil, confront America with a challenge and an opportunity to write a new chapter in the stirring story of self-organization of people in a world of organized power.

This is the time for workers and migrants on farms, with more adequate help, to write another chapter in the history of the rise of liberty in the modern world.



Housing for farm workers in 1958. Photo was snapped in California.

WHAT THEY SAY

Arne Geijer, president, ICFTU—Industrial democracy is inconceivable without strong, democratic trade unions. Without union organization, in modern industrialized society, the individual worker is defenseless and has no means of

protecting his interests. Just as our unions are vital to the individual worker and to protecting the worker's interests within each of our countries, so the free trade union movements of our many countries urgently need an international trade union movement.

There are many unorganized still to be brought within our union family. In the underdeveloped countries trade unionism, as we understand it, is still in its infancy.

The struggle in these areas is made more urgent because of the appalling poverty and low living standards beyond the imagination of people who have spent their lives in industrialized countries.

We must quickly mobilize our resources to help free trade unions to establish a foothold and through them help lay the foundation for economic and political democracy around the world.

Leon H. Keyserling, president, Conference on Economic Progress—

Comparing the first three quarters of 1957 with the first three quarters of 1956, profits of large corporations increased more than 50 per cent faster than wage rates in all manufacturing, twice as fast as wage rates in petroleum and products, and three times as fast in automobiles and iron and steel.

Of course, when a recession starts, profits tend to slow down even faster than wages. But the cause generally is inadequate wages and consumption. Furthermore, allowing for existing profit levels, accumulated re-

serves and tremendous fixed assets, leadership industries in the main still have room to make the needed wage and price adjustments.

If total real wages have lagged seriously behind the real volume of investment in the means of production, real wage rates have been relatively too low and prices have been relatively too high because they have yielded enough retained earnings despite excellent dividends to feed this relatively excessive investment.

The time is long overdue to recognize that the way to lift productivity is to release our full technological capabilities. This depends upon a full employment and full production program, with wages and consumption attuned to this objective.

Hubert H. Humphrey, Senator from Minnesota—With the growth of

our country, with its industrialization, the tremendous impact of defense industries and the great population growth, education is part of the basic health of the nation, our basic defense, our basic strength. The education of our young people is involved in the kind of military establishment we can have and the kind of industrial establishment we can have. Surely the federal government has an interest in the well-being of the youth of the nation and the educational structure.

I think it's nothing short of a tragedy that Americans get interested in the things that they ought to be interested in only when the Russians literally scare the daylights out of us. I would like to build schools just because we need schools, and I don't need to get my inspiration from Karl Marx or Khrushchev or anybody else.

For twenty-some years—the war years and the immediate postwar years and the depression years—we didn't keep up with our school construction. The gap has never been filled. We need at least 160,000 to 170,000 classrooms just to get this school plant of ours back in order.

Walter P. Reuther, president, United Auto Workers—We do not

believe that there has been any decline in the American people's need for new cars, but there has certainly been a decline in their willingness or ability to buy new cars at ever rising prices. There can be no doubt that the gloomy prospects for 1958 could be remarkably brightened if the recent price increases were canceled and replaced with a price cut or the assurance of a rebate.

The deliberate price-profit policies of the major auto companies have given these companies profits far in excess of those earned by most American industry. These excessive profits represent money which must be injected into the stream of consumer purchasing power in order to help establish a balanced economy.

Confidence in the strength of our economy is weakened today because Americans realize that General Motors and other corporations have administered the price structure so high that many people cannot afford the automobiles and other goods they would like to have. Consumer resistance to high prices is the force that is holding back automobile production and contributing to the hard times we are experiencing.

Morris Pizer, president, United Furniture Workers of America—Under

the Wagner Act millions of working people who sought to organize had the opportunity to form unions and win increased wages, paid holidays and vacations, health, welfare and pension benefits and many other improvements. These gains benefited not only the workers directly involved but also increased the purchasing power of the population as a whole.

The situation now is very different. Taft-Hartley does not help keep our economy strong and healthy. It helps freeze the imbalance existing when a large group of workers are at a \$1 an hour level in what is otherwise a \$2 an hour economy.

